

REPORT ON

‘Voicing the Community: A Study on the De-notified and Nomadic Tribes of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh’



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Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

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150 Years of the Criminal Tribe Act (1871)

75 Years of India's Independence

Denotified and Nomadic Tribes (DNTs) continue to be marked by the stigma of criminality and discrimination



Cover and above picture: Illustration of the nomadic communities, Punjab, 1860 AD. © Toor Collection

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	i
<i>Foreword by - Vibha Puri Das (Retd. IAS) Chairperson Bhasha</i>	iv
<i>Preface</i>	vi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	x
Introduction	1
Methodology	19
Survey Map	22
1. Historical Developments of Criminalization of the Denotified and Nomadic Tribes in India	23
2. Socio-cultural and Historical Background of the Denotified and Nomadic Tribes under Study	69

SURVEY DATA

3. Survey Locations	98
4. Social Categories of the DNT Communities	104
5. Status of Citizenship and Entitlement Documents	108
6. Education Status	130
7. Parental Involvement & Perception Towards Child Education	142
8. Affirmative Action in Education	165
9. Occupation, Income & Expenditure	171
10. Land Ownership, Housing & Assets	187
11. Neighbourhood	202
12. Health Facilities	205
13. Migration	217
14. Isolation, Marginalization & Discrimination	224

15. Conclusion	252
Annexures	256
Photographs	300
List of Workshops and Visits	334
Questionnaire	337
Bibliography	357

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Sandhya Gajjar

Managing Trustee

Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

FOREWORD

Bhasha engages with the idea of Voice in multiple dimensions. While it endeavours to document endangered and lost languages of present-day speakers, through the unique methodology of People's Linguistic Survey, simultaneously it contributes to the contemporary voicing of vulnerable communities through continuous research and documentation.

The DNT communities have suffered a fate worse than other vulnerable and marginalised communities. They have not merely been forgotten and 'invisibilised' by the state and its instruments, they are 'remembered' by organs of the state as 'criminal tribes' – the way the colonial rulers chose to describe them, more than 150 years ago. Unfortunately even after Independence, measures of denotification and promise of citizenship rights by the government have proven grossly inadequate. Despite advice of the NHRC for repealing of The Habitual Offenders Act (which replaced the Criminal Tribes Act post-Independence), in its high-level meeting with the state secretaries (held on 15th Feb 2000), the Act continues to be on the statute book and practiced vigorously by the police in most states.

This Survey and consequent Report documents, in searing detail, the current trajectory of members of the DNT in the states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. There is no uniform social categorization of these communities across different states and districts – whether SC, ST, OBC. This affects them adversely in availing benefits of the Reservation policy.

Further, these communities are marked by severe poverty (more than 90% below poverty line), illiteracy (literacy rate in the Survey stands to around 45%), and unemployment (0.1% people find government jobs). Caste discrimination exists both in schools and public places, with innumerable cases of mob-lynching, harassment by dominant classes, police atrocities,

illegal detentions and custodial deaths. All these have been reflected in the Report with case studies mentioned in Annexures.

The last National Commission for the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNT) headed by Shri Bhiku Ramji Idate, released its report in 2018. It listed around 269 DNT, SNT and NT communities which are left uncategorized under the reserved categories.

It is axiomatic that prestige and visibility attached to various institutions has transference value to the communities they represent. The various Boards/Commissions constituted at the national and state levels for welfare of these communities, had little budgets, no statutory position, and minimal prestige. They have therefore themselves remained ineffective and invisible and what they recommended have little actual implementation.

This Report, combining the rigour of scientific enquiry with an empathetic framework, shines a light on the severe development deficits of a segment of the population, that in the country as a whole, adds up to 12 crore, but which has yet to acquire the necessary salience in national priorities that these numbers warrant.

The eight films that constitute a companion piece to the Report, will surely enhance the voice and reach of these communities.

The extensive Survey has been able to build a strong network and understanding among social organizations already working with the DNT communities in the three states to come together with Bhasha in the next phase of the project to take on further development works with the DNTs.

I trust this painstaking effort of Bhasha, supported generously by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, will help align actions of various agencies in favour of DNTs while lending them a robust voice in managing their own lives and contributing to nation-building.

Vibha Puri Das

Chairperson, Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

Retd. IAS, former Secretary, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India

PREFACE

With funding grant from the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF), India Office, Bhasha Research and Publication Centre (BRPC) undertook the research and survey project titled '**Voicing the Community: A Study to Capture the Transition of 8 Communities from being Nomadic Communities to Denotified and Nomadic Tribes and their Contemporary Status and Lived Reality in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.**' Under the project it was decided to take up a community and location specific study of select communities focussing on two aspects: documenting their historical, social, cultural narrative capturing their lived reality as to how they have reached their present situation, and what the future portends. To ameliorate the present situation of the DNTs, the survey was conducted covering the issues of citizenship entitlements, social status, education among the children and parents, their occupation and income, housing, situation of basic amenities, health, migration, atrocities and criminalizing, political aspirations and participation, etc. The survey findings have also helped us offer location specific recommendations.

The project duration was for two years from October 2018 to September 2020, but got extended by one more year due to the unexpected COVID 19 pandemic situation which largely affected travel to conduct field level survey. To coordinate the project, Bhasha appointed a project coordinator, two project officers and an accountant. The survey was conducted to cover 2274 households, in 133 locations involving 19 surveyors in three states i.e. Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Five organizations - Budhan Theatre (Ahmedabad), Muskan (Bhopal), Jan Sahas (Mandsaur), Kota Heritage Society (Kota) and Gramin Shiksha Kendra (Sawai Madhopur) participated in the field work required by the survey through their community workers. Bhasha conducted eight orientation and capacity-building training workshops, and organised the work schedule of the surveyors at Baroda, Tejgadh, Ahmedabad and Bhopal. The extensive planning and review meetings with the

partner organizations at the end of the project have been conducted online and at their regional locations.

Bhasha also formed an ethical committee to look into the sensitive issues that would be required to be examined in the survey. The committee decided not to disclose individual details of the households surveyed. In the capacity-building workshops experts from different fields were invited to orient the partner-organizations and selected surveyors regarding the background of the DNTs, their issues of concern, legal and constitutional rights, media advocacy, networking, and how to build leadership among the youth. These workshops have led to broader thinking among the organizations which so far have been working with limited subjects among the DNT communities in specific locations. With these orientation, it is hoped that in the next phase of the project more organizations and larger areas of the three states will be covered to take up various development works.

Under the present project, eight films of half an hour duration each have also been made featuring the eight communities under survey covering their locations and issues of concern which are reflected in the report. These films will help in highlighting the current situation of the DNTs and in advocacy with the media and government.

The report features more than 150 years of history of the DNTs, their criminalization and stigmatizations through various Regulations and Acts instituted by the British Colonial rule, among which Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871 is the most critical. It has also listed various amendments which have taken place to cover around 191 DNTs across the country tagged as 'Criminal Tribes'. Following this, it also highlights the rich cultural history of the DNTs that is still alive in their memories. This is the subject which is generally neglected by social scientists. The report has tried to look through the eyes of the community themselves with contrasts provided by documentary references of how the outside world has looked at them, mainly the British surveyors and administrators.

The data analysis of the survey findings, chiefly related to the development parameters among the DNTs, reveal that the DNTs continue to live an unfortunate marginalized life in the post-Independence era. When looked in the context of rural settlements and gender specificity, the situation is extremely depressing - women, children and the illiterate population are target of all kinds of exploitation and atrocities. Media, police, administration and politicians are found silent on these issues. The economic, social and human rights conditions of the DNTs continue to remain the same, if not even further deteriorated.

While fighting for daily survival, DNTs are unable to mobilise themselves for a sustained socio-political movements. The findings of the survey present a dark picture of these communities in background of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that India is

aspiring to achieve by the year 2030. This projected hope looks hypocritical. Bhasha's Founder Trustee, Dr. G. N. Devy and the organisation's patron, Smt. Mahasweta Devi, tried their best to get the recommendations of the NCDNT Commission and the TAG Report to be accepted by successive governments, but they never saw light of day, even after the institution of the second Commission and release of its report.

This study was aimed to bring up specific and shared issues of the eight communities covered in the three states - Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh -- to get a comparative perspective of the DNT situation. Spread across the three years, this project/report has achieved the following objectives proposed under it:

1. Historical perspective and contemporary life situation of the DNTs.
2. Socio-cultural identity of the DNTs and their assertion to 'who we are'.
3. Status of the access to citizenship and entitlement rights.
4. Statutory status impacting their social, economic and political situation.
5. Comparative status of DNTs across the 3 states, according to rural-urban and gender covering the subjects of education, health, occupation and income, migration, discrimination and atrocities, political participation, etc.
6. Resource Mapping.
7. Community and locations specific recommendations for future development works to be taken up.
8. A network of five organisations and community based organizations (CBOs), their capacity building and orientation. This will facilitate Bhasha's next phase of work to take up further development work with the DNTs at the grassroots and policy level.

The recommendations made under the project study will be taken forward with the state and central governments, policy planners, the National DNT Commission and State Welfare Boards/Corporations, non-government organisations, schools/colleges/universities, police departments, civil society, media, etc., so that the measures could be taken up for development and policy-making. The recommendations are in the nature of advocacy, community sensitization, skill development and resource mobilisation. To execute it successfully, this report is also being translated into Hindi so that it is accessible to the communities and becomes a tool for advocacy for their rights.

This study is a model which could be taken forward by the government and non-government organizations to cover more DNT communities spread across the nation in large numbers. Bhasha will always be happy to share its resources and provide assistance for development

of the DNTs. It will continue to work on the development parameters/indices specific to the DNTs in keeping with their nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled lifestyles and their changing context in contemporary times.

Dr. Madan Meena

Project Coordinator

Trustee, Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

ABBREVIATIONS

AAY	Antyodaya Anna Yojana
ABMGRSBY	Ayushman Bharat Mahatma Gandhi Rajasthan Swasthaya Bima Yojana
AMH	Anatomically Modern Humans
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
AnSI	Anthropological Survey of India
APL	Above Poverty Line
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BT	Budhan Theatre (Activist theatre group based in Ahmedabad, Gujarat)
CAA	Citizenship Amendment Act
CCPs	Community Contact Persons' (CCPs)
CHC	Community Health Centre
CNL-DNSTC	Comprehensive National List of De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes and Communities
CO	Circle Officer
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
CTA	Criminal Tribes Act
CTs	Criminal Tribes
DA	Dearness Allowance
DBT	Direct Benefit Transfer
DICs	District Industries Centres
DJ	Disc Jockey
DNT	Denotified Tribes
DNTs	Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes or DNT communities
ePOS	Electronic Point of Sale
FPS	Fair Price Shops

GRP	Government Railway Police
GSK	Grameen Shiksha Kendra (NGO based in Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan)
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus infection
HOA	Habitual Offenders Act
HWC	Health and Wellness Centre
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
ICSSR	Indian Council of Social Science Research
ID	Identity Cards
IGNOAPS	Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme
IPC	Indian Penal Code
IPHS	Indian Public Health Standards
JAM	Jan Dhan-Aadhar-Mobile penetration
KHS	Kota Heritage Society (NGO based in Kota, Rajasthan)
KVIC	Khadi & Village Industries Commission
LPG	Liquid Petroleum Gas
NAC	National Advisory Council
NCERT	National Council of Education, Research & Training
NCDNT	National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes
NFSA	National Food Security Act
NFSH	National Family Health Survey
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
MA	Mulhyamantri Amrutum (Yojana of Gujarat Govt.)
MAV	Mukhyamantri Amrutam Vatsalya (Yojana of Gujarat Govt.)
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National. Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure
MWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NACO	National AIDS Control Organization
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NFBS	National Family Benefit Scheme
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NMBS	National Maternity Benefit Scheme
NOAPS	National Old Age Pension Scheme
NRC	National Register of Citizens
NSAP	National Social Assistance Programme
NSIC	National Small Industries Corporation
NT	Nomadic Tribes
OBC	Other Backward Class
OTP	One Time Password

PDS	Public Distribution System
PHC	Primary Health Centre
PHF	Paul Hamlyn Foundation
PHH	Priority Household
POCSO	Protection of Children from Sexual Offences
PMAYG	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana-Gramin
PMAY-R	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojna (Rural)
PMAY-U	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojna (Urban)
PM-JAY	Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana
RAG	Right Action Group
RI	Revenue Inspector
RPF	Railway Police Force
RPGO	Rajasthan Gambling Ordinance
RSBY	Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana
SC	Scheduled Caste
SCERT	State Council of Educational Research and Training
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDM	Sub Divisional Magistrate
SDO	Sub Divisional Officer
SECC	Socio-Economic Caste Census
SHRC	State Human Rights Commission
SJED	Social Justice and Empowerment Department
SNT	Semi-Nomadic Tribes
ST	Scheduled Tribe
STF	Standing Task Force
TAG	Technical Advisory Group (for the DNTs) instituted under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment
TB	Tuberculosis
UGC	University Grants Commission
UHC	Universal Health Coverage
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
UTs	Union Territories
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAO	Village Administrative Office

INTRODUCTION

After three years of survey, research, and documentation, in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, the present report on the Denotified and Nomadic Tribes (DNTs) is being released in the year 2021 which is an important year to be considered in two aspects. First, the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) was forced upon the undivided India in 1871 AD by the 4th Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo. This year on 12th October, India will complete 150 years of this barbarous Act of 'criminalization' of hundreds of caste-based professional service provider communities who were brought under its purview. It negated the civil liberty of many wandering tribes who came to be recognized as the Criminal Tribes. Secondly, India is completing 75 years of Independence this year; but the communities marked as 'Criminals Tribes' under the CTA continue to suffer the stigma of criminality. They still bear the brunt of the Habitual Offenders Act which replaced the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952, which continues to be in force. Though a resolution was passed by the National Human Rights Commission on 15th February 2000 in a high-level meeting for its repeal¹, nothing has been done in this regard by the government. This has led to the continuous harassment of the DNTs by the police, forest officials, and other government agencies. The subject of criminality has also deeply seeped into the general psyche of society to look at the DNTs in negative perspective. Thus, the stigmatization and backwardness of these communities continues even after 75 years of Independence.

India's Constitution guarantees citizenship rights to its citizens; but due to illiteracy, socio-economic backwardness, lack of political participation and stigma of criminality, the voice of the DNTs has been muted in this regard. Being fragmented into various castes and remotely scattered, the visibility of these communities in a highly populous country such as India is absent. Most of the traditional practices of the DNTs have been restricted by various laws related to protection of forests and wildlife, state excise, prevention of beggary and

¹ Held on 15th February 2000 at the National Human Rights Commission's Headquarter, New Delhi.

human trafficking, etc. This has led to the incalculable loss of indigenous knowledge and livelihood. The growing depression among these communities is forcing them to migrate to cities, fall victim to exploitative working practices, and to live in unhygienic conditions in slums, without any access to basic amenities. Even after formation of various commissions, committees, corporations and welfare boards for their rehabilitation, the government has been largely inactive to form any concrete plan of action for them. These communities never fall in the mandate of the political parties and do not figure in their manifestos. Their votes are generally taken away by bribing their community leaders.

Various reports presented by these commissions and committees formed to look into the issues faced by the DNT communities, enumerate their population to be around 1500 communities, amounting to 10% of the total Indian population, *viz.* standing to around 15 crore. Unfortunately they are not enumerated separately in the National Census, making it difficult to ascertain their definite figures.² Most of them are subsumed under the SC, ST and OBC reservation categories but they are incompetent to harness any benefits due to the presence of affluent communities within these categories who take away large portions of the benefits. DNTs, as a whole, are not recognised as a separate social category under the Constitutional Schedules to safeguard their rights which have been in need since the abolishment of the CTA.

The absence of uniform classification of the DNTs across the country is the biggest dilemma; these communities remain differently categorized in the reserved category as well as in the DNT and NT lists scattered across different states. Our survey report has found that even though being in the same community or caste group, they are categorized differently even within the same Tehsil and District. The complex nature of the caste and sub-caste system of the Indian population and the lack of socio-anthropological studies about them, makes it difficult for the government officials to identify them correctly. Thus, they tend to ignore or drag their feet over the issuance of caste certificates and other entitlement documents³ which affects the education, employment, and other basic rights of the DNTs. Added to this, the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNT) headed by Shri Bhiku Ramji Idate, in its report released in 2018, has listed around 269 DNT, SNT and NT communities which are left uncategorized under the reserved categories. The Renke and Idate Commissions have made various recommendations for the amelioration of the condition of DNT communities, but most of these have remained unimplemented because of lack of any effective follow-up or official will. These committees and commissions have unanimously accepted the fact that DNTs are the 'poorest among the

² Reference for their population is drawn only from the last Caste Census of 1931.

³ According to the Renke Commission report 2008, 50% of DNTs lack any kind of documents and 98% are landless.

poor', 'marginalized' and most 'downtrodden' communities but government policies fail to account for their rehabilitation.

In Morena district of Madhya Pradesh, for instance, the Bedia community is being asked for residential proofs since 1950s to issue them the caste certificates. In a situation when the Bedia have been nomadic since ages, it is impossible for any of them to have possession of such paper documentation. Such disparities remain unnoticed and unacknowledged as serious problems in taking the work towards the DNT rehabilitation forward. The DNT communities voice do not make any difference to the attitude of constitutional agencies and political parties. If there are some families who may have the required records, then there are many disparities in the names and addresses and these do not match while registering for government schemes. This disqualifies them to entail benefits under the reservation, food security, old age pension, land rights, domicile, health insurance, etc.

There are issues within the communities that also keep them held back. Due to the complex caste systems prevalent in these communities, the DNTs remain severely divided. Hence centralized political leadership is absent. Thus, they are prone to exploitation both by the state and dominant classes. Moreover, the *Jati* Panchayats within the community are sources of exploitation of their members. A serious belief in superstitions, phobias and ancestor's resolutions keep them away from the development path. For example, only very recently did the Gadia Luhar community resolve to settle down in one place and lead a better life. Otherwise, the promise they had made to Maharaja Rana Pratap had led them to live a wandering existence in bullock-carts for more than 500 years. Similarly, many among the Pardhi community do not go to government hospitals for treatment out of their fear that they will never return alive. The DNT communities have also remained away from the COVID vaccination program due to myths related to impotency and possible death caused by the vaccine as part of a larger conspiracy to finish off entire DNT communities. Thus, they continue to live in darkness.

HISTORY OF CRIMINALIZATION OF THE DNTs

There are sequential developments which led to the classification of many DNT communities as 'hereditary criminal classes' in India by the colonial rule. In the Sultanate/Mughal and British Imperial records there is mention of these classes as professional service providers - warriors, tool makers, transporters, wildlife hunters, entertainers, medicine men, musicians, genealogists, etc. but not attached with any criminal characteristics. It was after the arrival of the East India Company in 1757 AD and downfall of the Mughal Empire which led to the situation of depression among these classes. The

soldiers of the Mughal Empire were let free to survive of their own. But the commercial exploitation of forest resources resulted in clashes between the British and the forest-dwellers as their livelihood and habitat were threatened. The forest-dweller communities like the Pardhi, Sansi, Kanjar and Mogia were forced to live a wandering life and survive on hunting small game like hare and partridges. They wandered around and seldom stole crops out of hunger. Being disliked, rather feared by the sedentary communities because they could wield weapons, they were not allowed to settle in villages. Thus, they pitched tents or lived in open on forest peripheries or village grazing lands.

The foot-loose soldiers of the disintegrating Mughal Empire started plundering and became a threat to the establishments of the East India Company. To control such trouble, William Henry Sleeman was posted in India (during 1828-29) with magisterial duties in Jabalpur and Sagar districts of Madhya Pradesh to crush the organized soldier gangs. This was a time when many Indian States and Provinces had signed Treaties with the East India Company who were duty-bound to provide protection to them. William Sleeman was authorised to document the armed clashes from Indore to Calcutta. His understanding about the footloose soldiers and wandering tribes led to the identification of these castes and groups as 'Thugs' or 'Criminal Tribes'. This sent a message back to England about the existence of a 'Hereditary Criminal Class' in India and it prepared a ground for the enactment of the Criminal Tribes Act. The first War of Independence of 1857 got the British administration to suspect many among the wandering tribes as spies, messengers, and helpers to the freedom fighters. In 1858 AD, the British Crown took over the governance of India from the East India Company. British officers were asked to conduct a survey of the suspected communities and send the report to their Home Department.

In 1869 AD, Lord Mayo was appointed as the fourth Viceroy of India in Calcutta. He commissioned the first caste-based Census, which was released in 1871. In the Census, there was a classification of a section of the Indian society as a Criminal Class. This was a result of a lack of understanding on part of the British officers about the complexity of the Indian castes, sub-castes, and their social structures. Finally on 12th October 1871, the Criminal Tribe Act (CTA) came into force in Punjab, Oudh and North-West Province.

Prior to the CTA 1871, there were already Regulations and Acts in place to deal with criminality. For example, the Regulation XXII of 1793 AD was meant to punish people with criminal activities. To control Thuggee and Dacoit activity, ACT XXX was created in 1839. Under this Act, special Thuggee and Dacoity Department was established to suppress heinous crimes taking place on roads and Railways. Indian Penal Code (IPC) was implemented in 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) in 1861 to penalize and punish the criminals. The first Indian Forest Act was applied in 1865 to empower the British government to

declare any land covered with trees as a government forest and make rules to manage it. The government mainly used the woods for manufacturing sleepers for laying Railway lines. This displaced many tribal and forest hunter communities from their forest homes resulting in clashes with the British. But for the British, these Acts and Codes were not sufficient and a more stringent one was required. This resulted into the formulation of CTA which tagged many castes as criminals and brought them under the radar and strict control of the British government.

The British government never regarded the denotified tribes and nomadic tribes of any economic importance. They were also out of their system of revenue collection. They tried to 'gentrify' them through their policy of 'civilising' them.⁴ The Settlement Camps made under the CTA were a product of this idea.

The subsequent amendments in the CTA in 1911 and 1924 subsumed many communities under its purview. CTA 1924 was applied across India listing 191 communities under it. Under the Act, the local government was empowered to notify the tribe, gang, or class of people as criminal tribe. It was then the duty of the District Magistrate to register names of the 'criminal' gang or tribe. Section XIV of the CTA gave power to the local government to make reformatory settlements. Section XXII of CTA described the level of punishments for the convicts. These various sections of the CTA led to unwarranted multilayer restrictions and punishments. The law was exploitative in nature. It restricted the movement of the communities listed under it as they had to give their attendance periodically to the village headman or at the police chowki. On being found absent, they were punished or exploited by the headman or police officials. They were beaten and prosecuted. Due to such restrictions and inhuman treatment, innocent people sometimes actually became criminals. Their children and women suffered to live a miserable life.

During the years of fighting for freedom from the British rule, there were voices in favour of DNTs to repeal the CTA. In the meeting of 'Akhil Bhartiya Adivasi Sewak Sangh' in 1936 held at Nellore in Andhra Pradesh, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru condemned the CTA labeling it as inhuman and barbaric. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel took a critical note of the CTA at various meetings. Amratlal Thakkar Bapa submitted many memorandums to the UP Congress Committee for abolishment of the CTA. When India gained Independence on 15th August 1947, the Indian Federal Government set up a committee in 1949 to study the existence of this law. They found it against the spirit of the Indian Constitution. Following it, in 1950, A. Ayyengar Commission was constituted to study the condition of communities listed under the CTA. Thus, after eighty years of its existence, CTA was removed on 31st

⁴ R. Siva Prasad, *India's Nomadic and De-notified communities, Symposium on People of India*, Deptt. of Anthropology, University of Delhi, 2015, pg. 48

August 1952. Around 191 communities were denotified and set free from the settlement camps (see Picture 32).

On a regional level, CTA was removed by some of the local governments prior to 1952.⁵ But at the same time it was replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act (HOA). Under the HOA, the identity of the communities listed under it changed from Criminal Tribes to Habitual Offenders. Through HOA, the individuals of the DNT were targeted instead of the whole caste or family. Though CTA was repealed but criminality continue to stay with them both administratively and socially. It has become a permanently blot on them which continues even after India completing 70+ years of Independence.

CULTURAL AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY OF THE DNTs

When we go back into the history of the DNT communities we find that they were an important part of socio-cultural, economic and political system of the Indian society. Memoirs of the Sultanate and Mughal period mention many of these communities as important service providers. For example, the Banjara were employed in transportation of grains to the city markets and military installations. Hunting expeditions were impossible without the assistance of the Pardhi and Mogia community. Among the Pardhi, one of their sub-caste Cheetah Pardhi were known to tame Cheetah⁶ for hunting deer, especially blackbucks. They escorted the royals and nobles for their hunting expeditions and assisted them. In lieu of services rendered, they were rewarded and recognized. The Gadia Luhar community, scattered across North India, relate themselves with the Rajput ruler Maharana Pratap who lost the battle with Akbar and spent his life in the forests. As Rana Pratap lost the Chittorgarh Fort, the Gadia Luhar community resolved to live a wandering life with him which they follow till today. Gadia Luhar played an important role in foraging arms for the armoury of Rana Pratap. They later changed their profession to making agriculture tools, moving from village to village.

The Nat, Bhat, Mirasi and Bijori (sub-caste of Kanjar) communities were genealogists and bards. To entertain their patrons they took to acrobatics, puppetry, musical performance and dance. In return, they earned food grain, clothes, ghee, cattle and gifts to survive throughout the year. Bedia, Bachhada, Kalbelia and Kanjar were hereditary professional dancers having a rich musical repertoire. Rai, Chakri and Kalbelia dance forms are world famous. The Sansi, Kanjar, Nat, Banjara and Bachhada communities among the DNTs were expert in making

⁵ In Madras Province it was repealed in 1947 while in Bombay in 1949.

⁶ Now an extinct species from India.

country liquor which earned them a good revenue and sustainability. Those who had agriculture lands practiced farming. The Pardhi and Kalbelia had rich knowledge of curing ailments through traditional medicines collected from the forests. The Madari caught and trained sloth bear, snakes and monkeys to entertain people in those days when there were no other sources of entertainment. Similar was the profession of the Qalandars. The Gwariya (sub-caste of Banjara) women periodically visited villages selling wooden combs, *kajal*, *bindi*, bangles and other articles of women's make-up and fashion. Women waited eagerly for their visits.

Criminality was not an identity of these wandering tribes until they were notified as such by the colonial rulers under the CTA. Most of these castes were professional service providers who were necessarily required by the sedentary communities. For example, salt was carried and sold by the Banjara; white and red clay for decorating the mud houses was supplied by the Kalbelia community.⁷ The Bedia and Pardhi were expert in laying traps, and kept dried bodies of variety of birds for medicinal purposes. The Odh community was expert at building water reservoirs and wells. The Dabgar and Chamarmanga were known for cleaning ear wax, capping and extracting teeth with caries. The Naik and Kavadiya Bhat were bards carrying *Pabuji ki Phad* (scroll painting of local heroic deity) and *Kavad* (mobile shrine) respectively and serving the religious purpose for the nomadic communities like the Raika. The Banjara, Raika and Gadia Luhar were also expert animal breeders from whom the villagers received good breed of camels, bullock and cows. These communities were also rich in skills for making hand-crafted articles like quilts and embroidery which rarely attracted the attention of the craft market. Only Kalbelia dance and their music got some international recognition, but not that of the Bedia and Kanjar dance which are equally important. The folklore and musical repertoire among all these communities is very rich. The remoteness of their life has given birth to rich culture which identifies India. This still need to be recognized and promoted by the entertainment industry and academic world.

Later with the industrial development, implementation of various laws for the protection of wildlife and forests, IPC and CrPC sections, liquor prohibition policies, sex trafficking, anti-beggary, child labour, etc. most of these traditional practices were rendered illegal. With the implementation of CTA most of these wandering tribes were labeled criminals, their movements were restricted, traditional practices became subject of surveillance and were looked down by the majoritarian sedentary class.

⁷ The Banjara and Kalbelia are related to the European gypsy sharing common ethnological identities.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE DNTs (Based on the data analysis report)

The DNTs are among the most backward, deprived and neglected communities in India today. Though these communities are culturally rich, saviours of indigenous knowledge, but this has never been recognized and validated. In modern time when we assess the situation of the DNTs from the development perspectives, we find they stand at the bottom of the ladder. Even though some of these communities have been categorised as SCs, STs and OBCs, but they get negligible benefits of reservation.

1. Social Categorization:

Due to lack of anthropological studies these communities have been listed differently in the reservation categories and that of the denotified tribes, nomadic tribes and semi-nomadic tribes (DNT-NT-SNT). This makes the welfare policies ineffective for their development. Such disparities were addressed by the both Renke and Idate Commissions along with the Planning Commission but no action has been taken in this direction. The youth of these communities suffer the most for not being able to get the caste certificates. The last caste Census was conducted in 1931, and after that no such survey has been conducted to ameliorate the number of these communities. During the repeal of the CTA no single list of these communities existed as India was divided into various states and presidencies. Notification of the DNTs was a state matter. Dr. Ganesh Devy who has actively participated with the government to voice the DNTs matters states that, 'No combined list of Criminal Tribes existed in 1952. This is so because the Criminal Tribes Acts were passed variously in different Indian territories such as the Central India, old Mumbai State, Bengal State (as it existed during the British times, see Annexure 1.2) and the Nizam State.' The A. Ayyangar Committee report presented a list, but it swaps with the neighbouring states due to lack of understanding about these communities. Due to this reason various sub-castes of the DNT communities got left to be included in the DNT-NT-SNT list and the SC-ST-OBC categories.

2. Citizenship and Entitlement:

One of the major issues faced by the DNTs is concerning their citizenship documents to claim their identity, citizenship rights and avail benefits of the government welfare schemes. Even after more than seven decades of India's independence there exists no socio-economic caste survey to estimate their living conditions. This survey shows that due to lack of the citizenship documents⁸, the communities are not able to avail benefits of education, food

⁸ Many of these documents have errors in spelling of names and addresses. Thus in online applications they fail to register being disqualified due to mismatch in data.

security under Public Distribution System (PDS)⁹, housing facilities under Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna, MGNREGA schemes, employment, etc.

The survey shows that among the Pardhi and Gadia Luhar communities, 4.4% and 3.5% members respectively do not have Voter ID cards.¹⁰ Similarly is the case of Aadhar Cards which are mandatory for every citizen irrespective of any age. It shows that 75.9% households have Aadhar Cards for all the members, 22% households have it for some members and 2.1% households do not have it for any member. The percentage of those having Aadhar Cards for all the members of the household is lowest among the Nat and Sansi communities standing to 55.7% and 54.6% respectively. The Voter ID and Aadhar Card are the basic citizenship documents required by every Indian citizen to benefit various entitlements legally available to them. For financial inclusion under the Jan Dhan scheme, the Government of India launched Jan Dhan-Aadhar-Mobile penetration (JAM) on 15th August 2015. After this the Ration Cards, MGNREGA Job Cards, various compensations, scholarships, health insurance schemes, old age pensions, etc. necessarily require linkage with the citizenship documents. This survey has discovered that there is a lack of awareness regarding this among the nomadic and less literate communities.

In cases of Birth Certificates it is noticed that the average number of households in which all the members have them is only 19.3%; while in 58% households, only some of the family members have them and in 22.8% households none of the family members have Birth Certificates. This is mainly due to non-institutional deliveries of babies at home. The percentage of having no Birth Certificates is highest among the Kalbelia community standing to 44.1%. This also corresponds to the low literacy rate among them, *viz.* only 39.6%. Illiterate parents find it hard to procure Birth Certificates which are either issued by the municipal corporation or village Sarpanch. They hesitate to approach them as they are not permanently placed/reside in their jurisdiction areas.

The poorer households spend a greater proportion of their income on food. According to the wealth index, poverty among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Pardhi is higher as compared to others. The data analysis shows that 11.1% households do not have Ration Cards. This percentage is highest among the Pardhi community at 46.4% because of migration to new places, mainly slums of cities. Many among present generation have not been able to procure new ones. The old Ration cards exist with the parents or grandparents even after separation of the family. Thus they are not able to harness benefits of the PDS system. In the categorization of the Ration Cards, which is a state matter, 51.7% households do not have BPL cards. On comparing this data with the household income, 82.6% population has annual

⁹ Ration Cards not getting linked with the Aadhar Cards.

¹⁰ Eligible age to get Voter ID is 18 years.

income less than rupees 1 Lakh which shows that actually more than this percentage of households should be under the BPL category.¹¹ Due to the COVID pandemic, mass poverty is back in India and the most affected are the DNT communities.

A pilferage of 50% ration from the PDS has been reported in the Niti Ayog's report (December 2016). This mainly affects the communities who are illiterate, live in remote areas, and are discriminated by the dominant communities of the villages and by the Fair Price Shop (FPS) owners. To remove such discrepancies, the central government announced 'One Nation One Ration Card Yojana' scheme on 30th June 2020 under which the beneficiaries would be able to collect their entitled food ration from any Electronic Point of Sale (ePOS) enabled Fair Price Shops (FPS). But to register for this, the DNT members are finding it tough to link their Ration Cards on e-Mitra portals. The beneficiaries can register only through OTP on their mobile phones. The problem is of network connectivity and many poor do not have mobile phones. The digital technology remains a challenge for DNTs. As a result, presently many are not getting rations that are due to them.

In the MGNERGA employment guarantee scheme which is meant for the rural areas, the data shows that on an average 42.2% DNTs who are living in rural areas do not have Job Cards. This percentage is very high among the Pardhi community, standing at 85.2%. Among the Bachhada and Kalbelia community also it is comparatively high, viz. 53.2% and 54.8% respectively. Its reasons are illiteracy, remoteness, frequent migrations, casteism, corruption by the local representatives and Panchayat officials.

Looking to the health insurance, Survey shows that 58.3% members of the DNTs are not covered under the Government-supported Health Insurance schemes in the three states under study. This percentage is highest among the Kalbelia (76%) and Pardhi (74.9%) on an average but in rural areas it is 86.1% and 91.6% respectively. The Ayushman Bharat Health Scheme launched in 2018 on recommendation of the National Health Policy 2017 has failed to cover these communities who face various health issues due to poor living conditions. During the COVID period it is noticed that private hospitals empanelled under the health insurance schemes have turned down COVID patients. This is injustice for the poor DNTs who could not afford the costly treatment.

The complex caste structure of the DNTs and limited understanding about it among the government officials is the major reason for not having Caste Certificates for people who are eligible for it. Through Caste Certificates, members of the DNT communities avail various benefits as they are getting educated; particularly reservation in jobs and scholarships for education. The survey shows that 43.9% DNTs do not have Caste

¹¹ The level of the household income to qualify as Below Poverty Line varies from state to state.

Certificates. This percentage is highest among the Gadia Luhar (54.7%), followed by Kalbelia (62.9%), Nat (59.2%) and Pardi (88.4%) who are nomadic in nature, living on periphery of the villages and in slums of the cities.

In case of the Domicile Certificates, 54.4% members do not have it. This percentage is again highest among the Kalbelia (86.9%), followed by Nat (74.9%), Pardhi (64.7%), Sansi (64.9%) and Gadia Luhar (55.2%). It directly relates to their nomadic nature and most importantly their literacy because it is required to appear for higher education, to availing scholarship, loans, etc.

Regarding Old Age Pension, the survey shows that 63.4% eligible elderly DNTs are not getting it. In urban areas, this percentage is as high as 79.5%. In case of Death Certificates, only 31.3% households have it for the deceased in the family. This is due to their ignorance and lack of knowledge about its importance.

In view of the survey done by the Renke Commission which submitted its report in 2008, it highlighted that 50% of DNTs lacked any kind of documents and 98% were landless. Similar situation is presented by this survey also of the three states where the situation has not improved in a period of more than one and half decades.¹²

3. Education and Affirmative Actions:

Education or rather lack of education among the DNTs is the most concerning issue. It has led to their continuous backwardness even after 70 years since they were freed from the settlement camps.¹³ In the survey, the average literacy rate of the DNTs stand at 47% and those of the parents is only 16.4%. This is very low as compared to National Literacy Rate of 77.7% in the year 2017-18.¹⁴ The literacy rate among the children of the Gadia Luhar community is only 24% and that in the Kalbelia, Nat and Pardhi communities, it is only 39.6%, 39.6% and 39.5% respectively. There is gender disparity also as the literacy of girls is 42% and that of the boys is 51.9%. The Gadia Luhar girls have a minimum literacy rate of 16.1% in rural areas where they majorly live. The survey has revealed that there are many villages of Pardhi community in Madhya Pradesh where not a single child has studied above class V, reflecting zero literacy rate.

The survey shows that from the currently enrolled 3560 children, only 87 (i.e. 2.4%) are studying at the college level. This directly affects employability of the DNT youth, only 0.2% are able to find entry in the government jobs of lower category. There are various

¹² See <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/governance/union-budget-2020-21-denotified-nomadic-semi-nomadic-tribes-left-out-once-again-69110>

¹³ Criminal Tribes Act was repealed on 31st August 1952 countrywide.

¹⁴ According to the National Statistical Office (NSO) survey of the year 2017-18.

reasons for low literacy among the DNTs. Ignorant and illiterate parents are unable to understand the importance of education. Children of Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Nat communities are forced into traditional professions at an early age. Thus they do not attend schools. Problem of language, poverty, poor hygienic conditions, caste discrimination, negative attitude of the teachers, stigma of criminality, nomadism, abusive attitude of the fellow children, etc. are reasons that the children lose interest in the school and drop out early. Girl child are kept at home to take care of the household work, young siblings and aged grand-parents.

Many parents want to send their children to schools but they find problems in admitting them due to lack of documents. Pardhis face maximum challenge (83.1%), followed by the Nat (39.6%), Gadia Luhar (32.6%), Kanjar (27.7%) and Bachhada (19.1%). Children from these communities are not encouraged much during the school admission drives under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. On enquiring about the level of satisfaction among the parents of DNT children it has been found that on an average 50.1% parents are satisfied while 15.3% are not satisfied and 34.6% are ok with it. Gadia Luhar (47.2%) have maximum dissatisfaction about their children's education. In spite of this, parents have high aspirations for their children, mainly for their employment and a decent, honest life. But the discouraging fact about education is that even after getting college degrees they are not able to secure jobs. They are unable to qualify the competitive exams.

Under Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations, the emphasis is on quality education, but this cannot be achieved while inequality persists in India's education system. Target 4.5 of the SDG specifies that, 'by 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations'.¹⁵ Education and literacy are the key indicators for socio-economic development of a country and its people. Therefore there is an urgent need to focus on the education of DNT children to achieve SDGs targeted by the year 2030.

4. Occupation and Income:

In our survey, 59.2% households have stated that they practice their traditional professions while 40.8% have stopped and switched to new and available work. Among these, agriculture has been listed as the major profession by most of the communities except the Gadia Luhar. Some of the other traditional professions listed by the DNT communities under survey are making and selling of country liquor, beggary, prostitution, snake charming, hunting of birds and small game, blacksmith, jugglery, rope walking, drum playing,

¹⁵ See <https://sdg4education2030.org/the-goal>

acrobatics, stone-work and also thefts. Even though these have been listed illegal by various laws, but they are still practiced secretly because for many among these communities there is no other way of earning livelihood.

Those members of the DNT community who have left their traditional professions, have shifted to farm labour (20.1%) or work as unskilled casual labour (89.3%). According to the survey, 7.8% households are primarily dependent on entertainment practices like DJ bands and Chakri Dance (Kanjari), Rai Dance (Bedia), ceremonial drum-playing and acrobatic stunts (Nat), Kalbelia Dance, etc. The Gadia Luhar community still practice their traditional blacksmith work (14.2%) as their primary occupation and many among them do unskilled labour work as a secondary occupation. Prostitution (by Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar communities) and making country liquor (by Kanjar, Sansi, Bachhada and Nat communities) have also been listed as 3.6% and 4.9% respectively under the primary occupation.

The income from the above occupations ranges from Rs. 10,000 to little more than Rs. 1 lakh¹⁶ annually which is neither uniform, nor secured. Labour work is seasonal and temporary. Selling country liquor and prostitution are affected when there are raids by the police (and excise department in case of liquor). Large sums of income earned with difficulty are snatched away in legal cases and in bribing officials. According to the Survey, the household income of Bachhada, Kanjar, Pardhi and Gadia Luhar communities is much less as compared to others. In the COVID pandemic year (2020-21), most of the DNT communities have faced harsh times in terms of their livelihood and income.

Regarding the monthly expenditure of DNT communities, it has been marked that families spend majorly on food, i.e. around 75%. Rest of the expenses are on education of children (14.7%), water and electricity. There are also expenses related to health and emergency needs which can go up to lakhs of rupees sometime.¹⁷ To meet such emergencies, money is borrowed on high interest rates leading to chronic indebtedness. Many times, the Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar communities are compelled to sell or rent their daughters for sex trade to meet these expenses. There are a few ritual practices like *Mosar* and construction of *Chatri* in memory of the deceased person which also amount to huge expenditures.

5. Land Ownership, Housing and Assets:

Survey shows that 29.3% households have agriculture lands, while 70.7% are landless. These land holdings are small, ranging from less than one *bigha* to 3 *bighas* on an average. But this is not sufficient for the family to survive on it for a whole year. Some Pardhi families

¹⁶ 82.6% households earn less than Rs. 1 Lakh annually.

¹⁷ Emergency needs relate to police cases for giving bribe, meeting legal expenses, *Jati Panchayat* penalties, accidents, etc.

were allotted land in 1984 under the rehabilitation drive. 23.7% of the households among them have agriculture lands but only 1% of them are currently doing farming. Due to no irrigation facilities, much of their land remains barren. Thus, we see that even those who have agriculture lands have to take up other jobs to survive. Currently Pardhi community in Madhya Pradesh survive by collecting plastic, hunting of wild animals, and do petty thefts to sustain themselves.

Regarding ownership of housing, it has been noticed that 91.6% live in their own houses. But this does not correspond to livable concrete houses with basic amenities. Many among the Kalbelia, Pardhi, Gadia Luhar and Nat communities continue to live in tent accommodations. The land on which they put up their tents does not belong to them. Particularly in case of the Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar and Nat, the hutments are either on the village wasteland or forest land. In cities they put up their tents or huts along the roads, or on empty plots belonging to others. 6.5% households have no houses of their own to live in. This percentage is highest among the Kalbelia (27.3%) followed by the Gadia Luhar (10.8%). Those members who are aware of the Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana (PMAYG) apply for loans to build houses but the money allotted is very less to build a complete house. The illiterate ones find it hard to apply for housing loan and are often cheated by middlemen for the commission. Having no IDs and land documents is another challenge for claiming loans under PMAYG.

The survey shows that more than half (50.5%) of the DNT households live in *kaccha* houses while 48.1% have concrete, *pakka* houses. 1.4% households are without any house and compelled to live under the sky. Maximum number of households living in the *kachha* houses are among the Kalbelia (75.1%), Gadia Luhar (67.2%) and Pardhi (66.2%) communities. Regarding the availability of drinking water, 26% population of the DNTs get their water supply from borewells, 45.7% from piped water, 15.2% from open sources, and 13.2% from other sources. The majority have to travel a distance of 100 meters to 1 kilometre to fetch water. There are cases reflected in the report where families have to travel as far as 2 to 5 kilometre to get the drinking water. It is mostly the women and children of the household whose duty it is to fetch water.

Regarding toilets, this survey shows that 57.6% DNT households still go for open defecation. The situation of the Kalbelia community needs attention as 96.4% families go for open defecation. There are toilets made under the Swachh Bharat Mission, but due to non-availability of water these remain unused. Regarding electric power, 81.4% households

have electricity supply in their houses. But those living in remote locations often go for unauthorized connections because they do not qualify for permanent electricity connections.

6. Health Facilities:

Health is one of the major concerns among the DNTs suffering with malnutrition, infectious diseases like tuberculosis, silicosis due to working in mines, high number of anemia cases among women, skin diseases among those living in unhygienic conditions in slums or alongside the roads in open, etc. Seasonal diseases like viral fever, diarrhea, dengue, and typhoid affects them every year. Cases of AIDS are present among the Bachhada, Bedia and Kanjar communities.

Data show that 78.1% households have access to the service of Anganwadi, 78.2% have access to PHCs/CHCs. But on seeing the actual health facilities availed by them, 55% population uses private or traditional health facilities, as they feel there is no caste discrimination by private facilities and they are more reliable and better equipped. As mentioned earlier, among the Pardhis there is a strong belief that they will not return alive from government hospitals. Similarly, the Bedia and Bachhada also prefer private nursing homes due to the stigma of their professional identity as supporting and practicing prostitution.

7. Migration:

Many nomadic communities have stopped their migration due to restrictions on their traditional practices as well as dwindling new patrons. Due to social stigma, communities like Bachhada, Bedia and Kanjar have also shifted to cities. Survey data shows that 91.3% households are now permanently staying at their current location since three to four decades. From it 63.4% of the Gadia Luhar and 88.4% of the Pardhi community members have migrated to the current place of residence since last two to three decades. The Sansi, Kanjar, Bedia, Bachhada and Kalbelia communities have been living in their present locations for more than fifty years. There are still temporary seasonal migrations from villages to cities and other regions among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia, Nat and Pardhi communities for livelihood purposes.

Regarding issue of forced migration, the Kalbelia, Kanjar, Nat, Pardhi and Sansi communities are highly affected due to criminal cases that most of them are continuously entangled in. Displacement of Bedia in recent times is also happening due to identity issues. The community prefers anonymity so that they can educate their children and provide better life when they move to cities. The rate of displacement among the Pardhis is high as they have been moved out of the forests under the Wildlife Protection Act 1972.

8. Isolation, Marginalization and Discrimination:

The cases of police atrocities are largely due to prejudice regarding the stigma of criminality attached with these communities. Hence their livelihood practices, movements, hamlets are always under the scanner of the police and law enforcement agencies. They are frequently raided, their property is destroyed, men as well as women and adolescent children are remanded into custody. False cases are registered. Sometimes police atrocities lead to custodial deaths and suicide.

Survey shows that 28.5% households have had police visit their locality frequently. This goes up to 58.3% among the Kanjar and 55% in Pardhi. Due to fear of the police, very few approach them for help when attacked by the dominant castes or other powerful groups. Only 46.4% Kanjar have admitted to approaching the police, but that is only to negotiate the release of their family members in police custody. 44.2% Kanjar have committed bribing the police. The Sansis face maximum criminal charges (18.7%) for making country liquor, thus 60.9% among them seek legal help. Followed by the Kanjar, 15% of the Pardhis have criminal and wildlife charges against them for petty theft and killing of wild animals. Maximum arrest and detention are among the Kanjar, standing at 43.9% (from the total of 314 arrests).

The DNT communities are prosecuted under the various Acts related to Excise and Prohibition for making and selling of country liquor, Immoral Trafficking, breaking various sections of Indian Penal Code (IPC), violation of Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO), possession of illegal Arms, wildlife poaching and trade of endangered animal products, breaking of Railway Act, Gambling Ordinance, etc. Along with those who may have committed the crimes, many innocent members are also harassed and detained on wrong charges. According to the survey, 23.4% have confirmed this, especially the Pardhis (64.7%) followed by the Kanjar (50.5%). There are also cases of theft and criminal charges against school and college going children in the community.

The tag of criminality leads to negative reporting in the media also. When anyone among these communities is caught, they are tagged as members of criminal gangs, highlighting their community's name. Therefore, mainstream communities are apprehensive of DNT members. Within the community, there is a lack of unity and understanding. Internal conflicts lead to the exploitation by *Jati* Panchayat members leading to further hardships.

9. Political Participation of the DNTs:

There is little or negligible political participation by the DNTs communities in the three states under study. Maharashtra has shown some progress in this matter due to early political

awakening among Dalit communities, that is followed by the DNTs. CTA was repealed in Maharashtra on 13th August 1949, two years after India's Independence. When Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Solapur DNT settlement in 1960 (see Picture 32), on demand of the DNT delegation who met him, reservation was promised by the Maharashtra government to the people of settlement camps amounting to 4% in government jobs.¹⁸ At this time, no other reservation existed in Maharashtra. Due to this we still see separate reservation marked for the DNT communities in Maharashtra which is not seen in any other states of India. Sudhakar Rao Naik, representative of the Banjara community, was Chief Minister of Maharashtra from 25 June 1991 until 22 February 1993. The two Chairmen appointed to the NCDNT Commission in 2003¹⁹ and 2015 also belong to Maharashtra's DNT communities. They made promising recommendations for the welfare and development of the DNT communities, but neither the UPA nor the NDA governments could implement them practically. At present, the voice of the DNTs is absent nationally, though their population stands to around 15 crore.

On reviewing the present political participation of the DNTs in our survey, we find only few in the capacity of ward members and Sarpanch, and only in locations where they have majority. In the three states under study, there are few political leaders among the DNTs (see Picture 37) but presently none is representing them in the State Assembly or Parliament. In the 133 locations covered under this survey, there are 13 Ward Members, 4 Dy. Sarpanch, and 5 Sarpanch.

WAY AHEAD

Looking to the above issues concerning to the DNTs, it is of utmost importance that these communities should be prioritized in all the development policies of the country. They have been left unattended since India's Independence. As Dr. Devy writes, 'when India gained independence, adopted the Constitution, and started preparing for its first general elections, the CTs were still inside their confinement areas and settlements. It was not until August 1952 that they were declared 'free'.... They had missed the relief bus as most states had already formed the lists of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.' They have therefore missed the social justice which is very important for their rehabilitation.

Lately, the problems of the DNTs were enumerated by forming a few committees and commissions, but their finding and recommendations were not seriously paid attention. The

¹⁸ There were total 52 settlement camps in Maharashtra by the time of repeal of the CTA in 1949 (see Picture 32).

¹⁹ It was reconstituted in 2005, headed by Balkrishna Sidram Renke.

important recommendations made by the two NCDNT Commissions, NHRC and the Planning Commission have remained unimplemented due to the lack of an effective follow-up and proactive mechanisms. Because the strength of these communities remain scattered, their united voice is absent and ineffective in pressurizing the governments in power. Political leadership is also not visible except in the state of Maharashtra. The ignorance of the successive governments is adding to depression and hardships of the already suppressed and vulnerable indigenous communities of this country. This report focuses on such issues of serious concern.

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METHODOLOGY

The survey was planned strategically to target particular communities in particular locations selected by five of the participant organizations from the three states – Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh. This was purposefully for the reason that these organizations have been proactively engaged with the selected communities in these locations. This survey and consequent report and study was aimed to strengthen their work further by highlighting the often little-known but significant problems in their own region so that they could take up action-based development work in the next phase of the project. Therefore community specific surveyors were selected to conduct the survey to bring out factual realities. Since many of the DNT communities, traditional occupations are seen, in contemporary legal contexts, as illegal or immoral, an Ethical Committee was formed to make sure proper SoPs are in place such that community member identities are adequately protected as and when required.

In consultation with the organizations, a model questionnaire was prepared and discussed with the Ethical Committee members for their approval and to proceed with the Survey. First, a pilot survey was conducted and following that a meeting was called in Ahmedabad to discuss the challenges and issues red-flagged by the same. Based on the interactions with the organization coordinators, necessary changes were made and final survey implementation was assigned to two dozen surveyors in the first phase. Their training was conducted in Baroda, Ahmedabad, Tejgadh and Bhopal. Following that Bhasha started receiving the filled questionnaires which were scrutinized by the project officers and then given for data entry. After completion of the data entry, its cleaning was done both by the project officers and data analysts for accuracy of the data. Following that the process of data analysis and tabulation started.

Data Analysis:

Frequency distribution, bivariate analysis, and tri-variate analysis were conducted using STATA 14. All analysis were conducted segregated by DNT communities. In few instances, analysis was conducted by place of residence (urban/rural) and state of the study participants (Gujarat/Madhya Pradesh/Rajasthan).

Wealth quintile was computed using principal component analysis method as proxy of economic measure. Household amenities and assets were dichotomized into 0 and 1. The factor analysis was run with the following options: principal components extraction using correlation method with one factor extracted, substitution of mean for missing values, estimation of the factor scores using the regression method, saving of the factor scores for each household onto the data file using the name COM, printing of univariate descriptive, initial and extracted communalities, and factor score coefficient. Using the appropriate wealth score, the weighted cumulative percentage distribution of the wealth score was determined, further the wealth score was divided into three quintiles - low, middle and high.

The following variables were considered to construct wealth index:

- Table/Chair
- Electric fan/Cooler
- Kitchen appliances like Cooker
- Refrigerator
- Television
- Computer/Laptop
- Telephone/Mobile phone
- Cycle/Cycle Rickshaw
- Auto Rickshaw
- Scooter/Motorbike
- Gas Connection
- Tempo/Lorry/Car
- Livestock
- Power tiller
- General Agricultural implements

Literacy rate was computed for parents, children and youth aged between 10-25 years separately. A person was considered literate if studied at least up to 5th standard or above. Those who were never enrolled or dropped out before 5th standard or currently enrolled but studied less than 5th standard were considered illiterate. Literacy was calculated only for

persons aged 10 years and above to adjust age for education level assuming that a person will be educated up to 5th standard by the age of 10 years.

Literature Review:

Following the Survey, various archival records, gazettes, Administrative Reports of the states, Survey Reports, DNT Commission reports, various Committee reports and books were referred to look into the historical background of the DNT communities and their anthropological studies conducted by past scholars, sociologists and anthropologists. The present generation of the DNTs is unaware of their glorious past thus this report has attempted to compile all such studies to help them discover their true identities and become proud of the tradition they belong to. The present generation is totally unaware of the settlement camps which have now mushroomed as large villages of their community, such as Ramnagar and Shankar Colony in Bundi district of Rajasthan and Dekhpur of Bhopal district of Madhya Pradesh. These findings directly connect to current reasons of continuous police atrocities and cases of harassments. Its roots are deeply entrenched in the past.

Recommendations:

The survey has tried to record location specific problems and has made recommendations corresponding to the findings. These recommendations are important to guide future studies and for the design of future programmes related to actual developmental work among these communities. Hindi translation of this report is targeted for distribution among the community members for creating awareness among them and to use it as a tool for their advocacy.

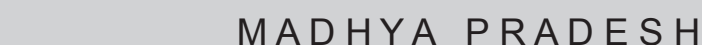
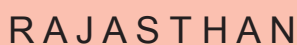
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SURVEY MAP

(Map-1)

(to be pasted here)

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BACHHADA

1. Hadipipliya (Manasa Tehsil)
2. Bardiya (Manasa Tehsil)
3. Kishanpura (Neemach Tehsil)
4. Nayagaon (Javad Tehsil)
5. Bhandiya (Manasa Tehsil)
6. Khadiantri (Manasa Tehsil)
7. Pawti (Manasa Tehsil)
8. Lasudiya (Manasa Tehsil)
9. Barkheda (Manasa Tehsil)
10. Moya (Manasa Tehsil)
11. Khatyakhedi (Neemach Tehsil)
12. Depalpura (Jawad Tehsil)
13. Chandoli (Neemach Tehsil)
14. Borkhedi Kala (Neemach Tehsil)
15. Sagar Gram (Neemach Tehsil)
16. Murlī Dhaba (Malahargarh Tehsil)
17. Changeri (Mandsaur Tehsil)
18. Sikhedi (Mandsaur Tehsil)
19. Udpura (Mandsaur Tehsil)
20. Kolwa (Mandsaur Tehsil)
21. Dodiyaamina (Mandsaur Tehsil)
22. Rati Talai (Malhargarh Tehsil)
23. Khunti (Malhargarh Tehsil)
24. Banikhedi (Dalauda Tehsil)
25. Chhoti Nirdharī (Dalauda Tehsil)
26. Moya Kheda (Jaora Tehsil)
27. Hanumantya (Jaora Tehsil)
28. Semliya (Jaora Tehsil)
29. Chiklana (Jaora Tehsil)
30. Manan Kheda (Jaora Tehsil)
31. Piplodhi (Jaora Tehsil)

BADEIA

1. Pachgaon (Dholpur Tehsil)
2. Tagawali (Dholpur Tehsil)
3. Pharakpur (Dholpur Tehsil)
4. Adarsh Nagar (Dholpur Tehsil)
5. Sunder Colony (Dholpur Town)
6. Sadak-Ka-Pura (Morena City)
7. Padit Vihar (Morena City)
8. Chatri-Ka-Pura (Morena City)
9. Taal-Ka-Pura (Porsa Tehsil)
10. Babripura (Ambah Tehsil)
11. Ranpur (Ambah Tehsil)
12. Sirimati (Ambah Tehsil)
13. Vitta-Ka-Pura (Ambah Tehsil)
14. Ambah Town
15. Kushal-Ka-Pura (Porsa Tehsil)
16. Gareeb-Ka-Pura (Ambah Tehsil)
17. Karsedi (Porsa Tehsil)
18. Chandokhar (Porsa Tehsil)
19. Pathariya Bedni (Rahatgarh Tehsil)
20. Haba (SagarTehsil)
21. Kolukhedi, (Berasia Tehsil)
22. Pathari (Raisen Tehsil)
23. Raisen City
24. Bara (Dholpur Tehsil)
25. Ratanpur (Dholpur Tehsil)

● **GADIYA LUHAR**

1. Mantunda Rd. (Bundi City)
2. Ghode wale Baba Chauraha (Kota City)
3. Berasiya City
4. Chauth Ka Barwada Town
5. Allapur (Khandar Tehsil)
6. Chhan (Khandar Tehsil)
7. Barwawada (Khandar Tehsil)
8. Bodal (Sawai Madhopur Tehsil)
9. Khandar Town
10. Phalaudi (Sawai Madhopur Tehsil)
11. Malarna Doongar Town
12. Sawai Madhopur Town
13. Gothra (Khandar Tehsil)
14. Rawara (Khandar Tehsil)
15. Vadaj (Ahmedabad City)
16. Daloda Town

KALBELIYA

1. Dalelpura (Bundi Tehsil)
2. Baman Gaon (Nainwa Tehsil)
3. Nainwa Town
4. Ren Farm (Hindoli Tehsil)
5. Bhawani Pura (Hindoli Tehsil)
6. Khattkhar (Bundi Tehsil)
7. Shyopuriya (Bundi Tehsil)
8. Baldeopura-ki-Jhonpadiya (Bundi Tehsil)
9. Kunwarti (Bundi Tehsil)
10. Kothya (Bundi Tehsil)
11. Talera (Bundi Tehsil)
12. Borda (Hindoli Tehsil)
13. Akoda (Hindoli Tehsil)
14. Siyana (Hindoli Tehsil)
15. Khorī (Huzur Tehsil)
16. Janta Colony (Lunawada Tehsil)
17. Ramol (Ahmedabad Tehsil)
18. Khedawada (Khacharod Tehsil)
19. Surel (Khacharod Tehsil)
20. Jiyaji Garh (Khacharod Tehsil)
21. Dei (Nainwa Tehsil)
22. Shiv Shakti Ka Kheda (Bundi Tehsil)
23. Lalganj (Nainwa Tehsil)
24. Jhundwa (Uniyara Tehsil)
25. Cheta (Hindoli Tehsil)

● KANJAR

1. Shankarpura (Hindoli Tehsil)
2. Ramnagar (Bundi Tehsil)
3. Shankar Colony (Chhabra Tehsil)
4. Dekpur (Berasiya Tehsil)
5. Sonkatch (Berasiya Tehsil)
6. Karariya (Berasiya Tehsil)
7. Chauth Ka Barwada Town
8. Dhani Ramgarh (Chauth Ka Barwada Tehsil)
9. Naihedi (Sehore Tehsil)
10. Bhapura (Chachaura Tehsil)
11. Sakanya (Raghogar Tehsil)
12. Laxmi Nagar (Kumbhraj Tehsil)

 NAT

1. Devpura (Bundi Town)
2. Gode Wale Baba Chauraha (Kota City)
3. Shiwar (Chauth Ka Barwada Tehsil)
4. Kanwarpura (Chauth Ka Barwada Tehsil)
5. Jhopra (Chauth Ka Barwada Tehsil)
6. Natwara (Niwai Tehsil)
7. Vadaj (Ahmedabad City)
8. Chandkheda (Ahmedabad City)

● PARDHI

1. Runaha (Berasia Tehsil)
2. Ehsaan Nagar (Bhopal City)
3. Gandhi Nagar (Bhopal City)
4. Ganga Dhaba (Bhopal Tehsil)
5. Unida (Berasiya Tehsil)
6. Khediya Kalan (Berasiya Tehsil)

● SANSI

1. Pander (Jahazpur Tehsil)
2. Phalasiya (Jahazpur Tehsil)
3. Sansi Basti (Kotri Town)
4. Lakshmi Nagar (Chhabra Tehsil)
5. Chharanagar (Ahmedabad City)
6. Santoshi Nagar (Ahmedabad City)
7. Sarvoday Nagar (Modasa Town)
8. Chharanagar, Jiwanpur (Modasa Tehsil)
9. Sansi Basti (Dahod Town)
10. Alipura (Tonk Tehsil)

● District Headquarter

Note: Map not to scale, it is only suggestive map.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF CRIMINALIZATION OF THE DENOTIFIED AND NOMADIC TRIBES IN INDIA

- Beginning with the formation and implementation of the Criminal Tribe Act 1971 to formation of various Commissions and Committees for welfare and development of the DNTs.

According to the archeological findings of fossilized human remains, the presence of humans in India dates to the Middle Pleistocene period (1,30,000 years ago). The discovery of stone artifacts from different sites indicates that the Indian subcontinent was well populated by Paleolithic people (roughly 2.5 million years ago to 10,000 BC) by the early Pleistocene.²⁰ The upper Shivaliks in India and Pakistan, came to be inhabited by a group of tool-making proto-human type called *Homo erectus*.²¹ Many such tools found in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and in the south shows that these were important centres of innovation in technology and settlements. By the end of the Pleistocene, man had started using different kinds of trap, nets and snares. And by 30,000 to 40,000 years ago, the beginning of religion and painting is indicated by the most advanced species i.e. *Homo sapiens*.²² They were also capable of using speech as mode of expression. It was during this time that the modern human or the *Homo sapiens* started settling down. As people started living a sedentary life; they discovered fishing and fowling as new sources of livelihood. Their tools become more developed and advanced i.e. microliths. They spread to the Ganga valley and gradually further moved to Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Among them the practice

²⁰ Rajan Gaur, *Palaeo Inhabitants of India*, Symposium on People of India, Deptt. of Anthropology, University of Delhi, 2015, pg. 6.

²¹ *Homo erectus* or the "upright man" is an extinct species of archaic human from the Pleistocene period dating back to 2 million years ago. They are considered to be the first recognisable members of the genus Homo. Got extinct around 17,000–108,000 years ago.

²² RP Mitra, *Prehistoric Population of India*, Symposium on People of India, Deptt. of Anthropology, University of Delhi, 2015, pg. 9.

of burial of dead started which emerged as the first rituals.²³ The rock paintings of Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh and in other parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat and central India indicate development of spirituality and aesthetics. From here onwards the rural, tribal and urban dimensions of Indian civilization simultaneously took shape. By 2500 BC, the first urban civilization²⁴ came into existence along the bank of river Indus (in Pakistan) and the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Haryana in present day India.

According to the genetic studies, ancestry of Indian population and that of Asia, Europe and America has its roots in Africa. The 'out of Africa' expansion of the Anatomically Modern Humans (AMH)²⁵ took place around 1,60,000 years before present.²⁶ Since then for centuries together, people from across the world have been coming to India bringing with them their unique cultural practices, customs and traditions. Simultaneously Indians have also ventured to distant places of the world. One particular example is of the Roma or the Gypsies of Europe who migrated to Europe from India centuries ago.²⁷ The traces of their language and customs can be found among the present day Kalbelia and Banjara communities spread across western India. Based on the linguistic categorization, the four major linguistic groups in India are - Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. The eight communities under study are part of the Indo-Aryan language family group. Most of them are multilingual beside having a distinct code language.

The diversification and distinction between village based agrarian groups and nomadic hunting groups, living in forested areas, arid zones and slopes of hill has been happening since the Neolithic times.²⁸ This was the time when the settled agriculturists developed symbiotic relationships with other occupational communities like carpenters, basket-makers blacksmiths, potter, cobbler, etc. Thus multi-community villages came into existence. But apart from this, many communities chose to remain outside the process of sedentarization, and continued living a nomadic way of life. These nomadic communities provided their seasonal services to the settled communities to earn their livelihood (many under the *Jajmani* tradition). Based on their services rendered to the sedentary class they were accordingly identified as occupational itinerant groups like pastoralists, breeders, artisans, genealogists, musicians and performers, entertainers, impressionists, soothsayers, bards, medicants, magicians, black-smith, hunters, herbalists, etc.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Harrapan Civilization dated between 2500 - 1700 BCE.

²⁵ AMH are those who possess besides all other attributes of Homo Sapiens, the capacity to speak.

²⁶ VR Rao, *Genetic Evidence of the Ancestry of the People of India*, Symposium on People of India, Deptt. of Anthropology, University of Delhi, 2015, pg. 11.

²⁷ PC Joshi, *People of India*, Symposium on People of India, Deptt. of Anthropology, University of Delhi, 2015, pg. 3.

²⁸ Neolithic period, also recognized as New Stone Age denotes the period of human development from around 10,000 BCE until 3,000 BCE.

In the Mughal memoirs, their presence has been well documented. Prior to that also Emperor Sultan Alauddin Khalji's (1296-1316 AD) records mention that he used the Banjara to transport grains to the city market (see Picture 27). Jehangir (1569-1627 AD) wrote in his memoir about food grain being supplied through 1 lakh bullocks by the Banjara during his military campaigns. Peter Mundy, an English trader who visited India during early 17th century has described of Banjara's *Tanda* (camp) comprising of 14,000 oxen and six to seven hundred persons. He has described them as carriers and merchants continuously moving from one place to another with their belongings. Many pastoral communities reared and sold domesticated animals for milk, ghee, wool and transportation. The Raika community from western Rajasthan seasonally travelled up to the Gangetic plains in the north and Karnataka in the south with their sheep and camels. Later a part of them settled in the Gujarat Kutch area and recognized as Rebaris.

Many of the wandering communities were forest dwellers. During the Mughal period as their distribution in the forest was remote and inaccessible they yielded no income to the state treasury.²⁹ These communities were self-sufficient thus they did not come in direct contact with main stream society. But this situation changed with the arrival of the East India Company in 1757 AD who targeted the natural resources lying in the forest areas. This commercial exploitation of the forests resources resulted in clashes between the British and the forest dwellers as their livelihood and habitat was threatened. With the advent of the Railway and felling of many trees in the forest, the forest dweller communities became displaced leading to a wandering life. The Pardhi, Sansi and Kanjar communities are examples of this. Many among these communities also participated in the First War of India's Independence in 1857 AD. To account for all these clashes and communities associated with them, William Henry Sleeman was posted in India in 1830s which finally led to the identification of these communities as 'Thugs' or 'Criminal Tribes'.³⁰ This sent a message back to England about the existence of a 'Criminal Class' in India which prepared the ground for enactment of the Criminal Tribe Act (CTA) in 1871 soon after the arrival of Lord Mayo in Calcutta (in 1868) as the fourth Viceroy of India.

In the modern era, the services of many of the nomadic communities have ceased to be in demand. Technological development has led to a great divide between the nomadic and sedentary communities. The settled (both rural and urban) communities progressed to become part of the main stream society while the nomadic ones were left to live a depressing

²⁹ Susan Abraham, "Steal or I'll Call You a Thief: 'Criminal' Tribes of India." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 34, no. 27, 1999, pg. 1751–1753. See JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4408149. Accessed on 25 June 2021.

³⁰ According to the Max Weber dictionary, the word 'tribe' has no specific occupation like the caste. Tribe is connected through a common lineage having the same clan's name. The DNT communities were wrongly named as tribes, though caste (*jaati*) factor has remained main distinctive characteristic of these communities. In the list of communities under CTA many among them belong to hereditary caste professions.

life. Many among the Kalbelia, Nat, Gadia Luhar and Pardhi communities continue to live on the periphery of the forests and villages to make their ends meet. Their traditional livelihood practices have been banned under the newly formed British laws, particularly the forest law. This has criminalized many communities across the length and breadth of the country.

Development of theoretical understanding of Hereditary Criminal classes in India among the British:

Classifying a section of Indian society as a Criminal class is a result of misunderstanding of the British about the complexity of the Indian castes, sub-castes, and their social structures. India being a melting pot of many cultures, religious beliefs, and practices; it was a challenge to their establishment to understand this complex weave. It gave rise to many misconceptions and wrong myths leading to looking at many of the communities with surprise and suspicion. The hereditary professional groups like the bards, acrobats, magicians, and snake charmers were queer characters for them. They branded India as a land of snake charmers and forts (royalty), i.e. the two opposite poles of Indian society attracted their attention. But the wrong perception of Indian society led to the criminalization of hundreds of communities. They propounded a thesis that as a carpenter's son is destined to become a carpenter for many generations so the descendent of a criminal offender will also be a criminal. This led to the labeling of the whole community and their new-born as criminals.

As stated, these communities were also out of the net of revenue collection. When the first struggle of Independence took place in 1857 AD, many of them were suspected to be spies, messengers, and helpers to the freedom fighters. They were put under surveillance. When Victorian rule took over India from 1858, many of the British officers were asked to conduct surveys of such communities and send reports to the Home Department. These documents lying in the Archives are evidence of the sequential developments of data collection on such communities and their criminalization based on their castes. Finally, all of them were herded into the list of Criminal Tribes under the CTA 1871.

Parallel to the above developments regarding the enactment of CTA, another important contribution to it was of William Henry Sleeman (1788-1856) who was appointed as an observer during 1830s to crush and disarm the footloose soldiers and those who were in the supply chain (organized gangs) who moved freely after the collapse of the Imperial Mughal Empire. He began documenting the armed clashes and people involved with their caste and community names. This led to the propagation of a theory in England about the groups of 'Thugs' (natural criminals) roaming freely in Central India. He listed such people with their caste and community names. Simultaneously, based on a genetic theory the British

anthropologists and scientists were working to establish that the wandering tribes were of an animalistic nature. The total of these developments culminated into negative impressions about the various wondering, tribal and socio-economically backward communities in India. This led to their inclusion under the CTA.

At the same time, the departure of the East India Company in 1858 and the entry of the British government resulted in the setup of a disciplined administrative system in place by virtue of the signing of various treaties with the ruling states. Susan Abraham writes that, 'The extension of the British Panel system to these areas (forests) sealed the fate of these forest dwellers. There was large-scale loss of their lands and an end to their economic independence, thus forcing large numbers of them to migrate. Some may even have been forced into the world of crime'.³¹ These lands were either grabbed by the British or the powerful peasants to convert them into agriculture lands. Near Bundi in Rajasthan, in the village of Barundhan one may still find memorials of the Kanjar ancestors of Ramnagar village (at a distance of 30 kilometers to the south) in the middle of the agriculture fields now dominated by the Mali, Gujar and Sikh communities. The community had a habitation there more than 150 years ago but was later displaced by the dominant farmers (see Picture-26).

As the new centralization of power began, a comprehensive list of the communities was prepared who were a threat to the British establishment. A decade after the departure of the East India Company in 1858, in January 1868 Lord Mayo was appointed as the fourth Viceroy in Calcutta. He was aware of the communities listed by Sleeman as natural criminals. Mayo also commissioned the first caste-based census in India published in 1871. Thus on 12th Oct. 1871, Criminal Tribe Act (CTA) was constituted in Punjab, Oudh and North-West Province. Exactly four and half months later he was killed (aged 49) during his visit to the newly constructed Cellular Jail on Andaman and Nicobar Island by Sher Ali Ifradi, an Afghan soldier jailed there. Ifradi was a convicted sepoy who was appointed in Mayo's security.³²

The earliest history of the Criminal Tribes is unknown though we have accounts of wandering tribes since the Sultanate period. But after looking at the list of the CTA it is clear that these tribes were original inhabitants of this land. According to Varrier Elwin, the Baiga Adivasi³³ are original inhabitants and owners of the country, but they were listed under the CTA. According to Sher Singh the Regulation of 1773 in Punjab led to the classification of criminal tribes for the first time.³⁴ They were shown as a separate category for the first time

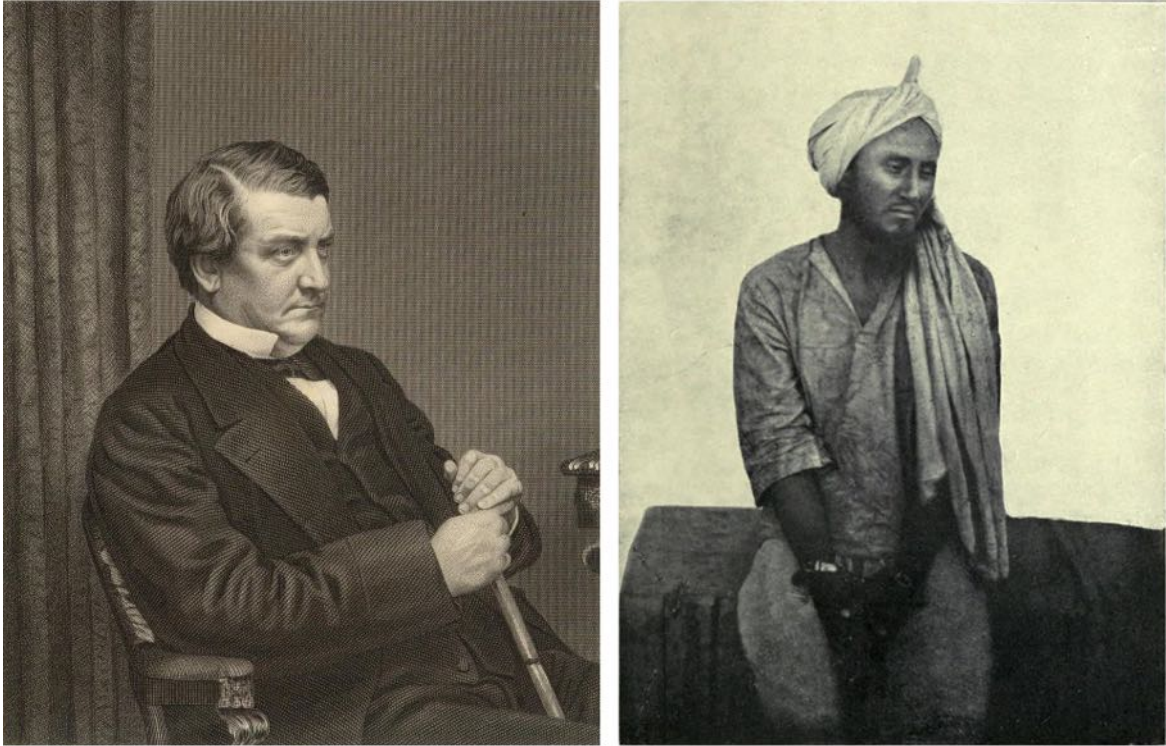
³¹ Susan Abraham, *op. cit.*

³² GN Devy, Indelible stain - India and its denotified tribes, Telegraph, Calcutta, Published on 07.08.2020.

³³ Varrier Elwin, *The Baigas*, Gian Pub. House, 1986, pg. 519.

³⁴ Sher Singh, *The Sansis of Punjab*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1965, pg 244.

in the Census of 1911. Majority of them were from the backward Hindu castes whose social status was low.



Left: Lord Mayo (1822-1872), his original name was Richard Southwell Bourke. *Right:* Sher Ali Ifradi as prisoner after murder of Lord Mayo. In response to his act, he was hanged on 11th March 1872 at Viper Island prison. (Source for both the images is Wikipedia).

Imposition of Regulations and Acts on the Criminal Tribes before enactment of the CTA 1871.

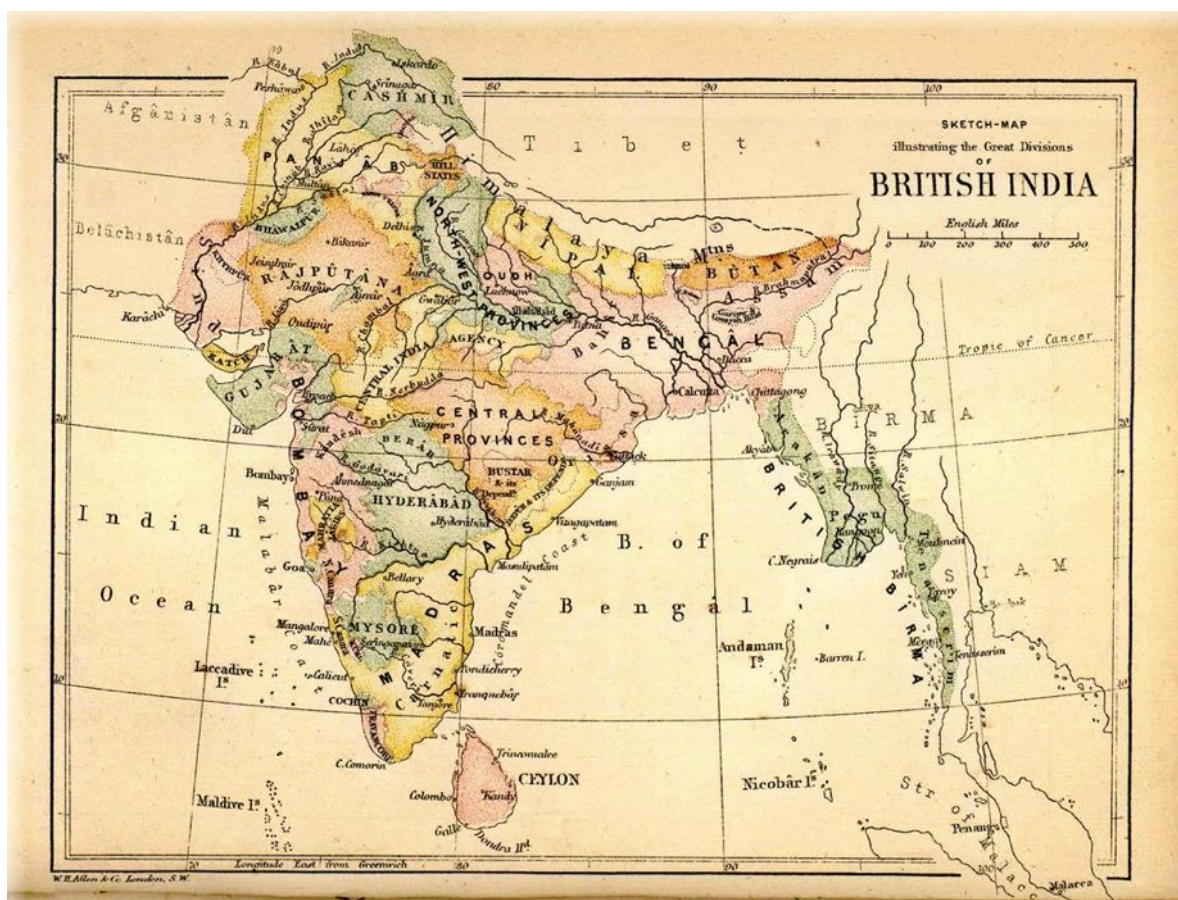
During the East India Company period, the British rulers dealt with criminality under a special Regulation XXII of 1793 AD, i.e. eight decades before the CTA came into force. The Magistrate had the summary power to put prosecuted persons of certain tribes to work on roads, and could imprison them for six months if they absconded.³⁵ This was the first regulation to control and punish people with criminal activities. During the first half of the 19th century, in India there was great disturbance by the thugs and dacoits who were majorly soldiers roaming free after the collapse of the Imperial power. This was perceived as a threat to the economic activities of the East India Company. Thus, in the second phase, in 1839, Act XXX was specially made to control Thuggee and Dacoity. The newly created Thagi and Dacoity Department succeeded in suppressing the heinous crimes to a great extent.³⁶ But,

³⁵ Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, 1871.

³⁶ Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee (1949-50) chaired by Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

still things were not under control. There were rebellious clashes and loots in Railway and on highways of the British supplies.

In the third phase, the Indian Penal Code was formed in 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code in 1861. This ended the summary power of the Magistrate but to keep an eye on the suspected persons involved in dacoity and thefts, a system of registration and roll call was adopted in the Punjab, Oudh and the North West Province by executive orders (see Map-2 below). But this led to an increase in criminal cases. Later, the Punjab court expressly declared that such rules were illegal.³⁷ But according to the British records, these Acts and Codes were not sufficient and a more stringent one was required.



Map-2: Source: Pope, G. U. (1880), *Text-book of Indian History: Geographical Notes, Genealogical Tables, Examination Questions*, London: W. H. Allen & Co. Pp. vii, 574, 16 maps.

While controlling the cases of Thagi and Decoity, the concerned Department brought to the notice of the government that certain tribes in North India, notably the Meenas of Shajanpur village in the Punjab were in the habit of systematically committing offenses against

³⁷ Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, 1871.

property. Similarly, the Sansi were involved in Punjab. This subject was represented by Mr. T.V. Stephens (Member for Law and Order) in the Council at the time of the debate on the Criminal Tribes Bill 1871. Stephens received such information from the Superintendent of the Operations for suppression of the Thuggee and Dacoity. He made a suggestion in the council that necessary action should be taken.³⁸ The British government took it seriously and found it necessary to form the Criminal Tribe Act in 1871. It registered all the members of the listed tribe as criminal although not every member was guilty of crime. In view of this Simhadri writes that, 'By a simple act of pen, it made every innocent people criminal'.³⁹

Reacting to the CTA, Sutherland stated, 'Crimes will also increase by making the laws. Whenever a law is passed and enforced, acts that were not crimes previously, then become crimes'.⁴⁰ This happened in reality; many of the traditional activities which were not crimes started to be recognized as crimes. And from then onward, crime was not associated with the individuals but the whole family including women and children and the whole tribe.

Through the CTA, the British government considered it necessary to control the movement of the Meenas and similar tribes. Apart from Stephen, the local government also represented to the CTA committee that, 'wandering gangs of criminals were both common and dangerous and that few, if any, criminal tribes were of greater importance, or more urgently required the discipline which this bill would provide for them'.⁴¹ This finally led to the enactment of the CTA on 12th October 1871. According to this Act, the local government was authorised to notify a gang, a tribe or a class of persons as criminals and report their case to the Governor-General in Council. Their case was required to be substantiated with the reasons for the gang, tribe or class as criminals and the nature of crime they were suspected of. It was also required to establish that their traditional occupation was 'merely a pretense for the purpose of committing crimes'. This led to criminalization of lawful occupations of the gang, tribe, or class leading to their misery and compulsion to become hardened criminals.

CTA 1871 did not make any provision for separating the children from their parents, though there was a recommendation by one of the members. It was only later in 1897 when CTA was amended, that they were separated (age 4 to 18 years) and put into reformatory camps.

The information mentioned below regarding the enactment of Criminal Tribal Act in 1871 and their subsequent amendments till the last one in 1924 has been derived from the book

³⁸ As the member of the British Viceroy's Council in India (1869–72) responsible for legal matters, Stephen devoted himself to the codification and reform of Indian law. Sourced from Britannica.

³⁹ Y.C. Simhadri, *Denotified Tribes (A sociological Analysis)*, Classical Publication Company, New Delhi, 1991, pg. 24.

⁴⁰ E.H. Sutherland, *Criminology*, Y. C. Simhadri, *The Ex-criminal Tribes of India*, India, National, 1991 pg. 24.

⁴¹ Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, 1871.

'Denotified Tribes (A Sociological Analysis)' authored by Y.C. Simhadri⁴² and the Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar Committee's Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee (1949-50).

Criminal Tribe Act 1871

Criminal Tribe Act (CTA) was a legislative piece enacted by the Governor General of India on 12th October 1871. It was a blanket law covering the newborn baby to the aged and ailing elders with no humanity and compassion for the underclass societies. After the departure of the East India Company to England the British started engaging with the declining Mughal rule; and with the Rajput and Maratha rulers they started signing mutual treaties to consolidate the discrete powers into one central power termed British Raj.

The act of criminalization has a historical background. Nomadism has always been a fear factor for the establishment. The notification of many of the nomadic and itinerant communities and some of the sedentary ones is the outcome of the British colonial rule in India. After the enactment of the CTA, subsequent British officers in different jurisdictions (or presidencies) started listing many of the wandering and suspected communities as criminal tribes. The suggestion for them largely came from higher-ranking officials, like the Inspector General of Police or Deputy Commissioners. They gathered their own information from the local officers and informants.



Left: The Toy Seller, Punjab, c 1860, Toor Collection. The toy seller woman seems to be from the Gwaria community (sub-caste of Banjara). Right: The Musician and the Tumbling Woman, Punjab, c 1860, Toor Collection. Probably the woman acrobat and the musician belongs to Nat or Bijori Kanjari (Kanjari) tribe.

⁴² Y.C. Simhadri, *op. cit.*

In the book, 'The Criminal Classes in India' by M. Kennedy⁴³, the mention of these communities is limited to their classification according to the 'methods and distinctive characteristics' rather than any mention of their 'ethnological and historical details'. Though having some good anthropologists during the 19th century AD, resulting in the publication of the first caste census of India, the cultural history of these communities never became part of the police manuals. Thus there was an absence of true understanding of these communities among the British officials. These British police manuals remained a subject of reference in the post-Independence era also leading to continuity of criminal image of these communities.

After the first battles for independence in 1857 AD, many of these communities participated to overthrow the colonial rulers. As stated above, back in England, the theory of the existence of Thugs in India was already propagating. Simultaneously, based on the genetic theories the scientists were giving shape to criminology. The British propagated the idea that some communities were criminals by birth and practicing crime is their caste or community occupation.⁴⁴ This led to enactment of the Criminal Tribes Act notifying many of these communities across different Presidencies and states, starting from North India. The district collectors were given the authority to notify the communities under their jurisdiction as criminal tribes.⁴⁵ They were directed to start isolating them into reformatory jails called 'settlements'. There were seventy-two settlements in different corners of the country by 1952. Solapur settlement is popularly known for the Woddar community who were forcefully employed to run the textile mills (see Picture 32). Slowly this forced the innocent communities like coin makers, acrobats, entertainers, long distance traders (see Picture 27), wandering communities, bards, etc. into criminal activities. Fanon states that, it naturally led them into petty crime for sustenance, which reinforced the idea of hereditary criminal traits. This was one of the 'techniques' of the colonialists to dominate the colonized natives and brand them as suspected people on their own land.⁴⁶

One more reason that has been cited by many scholars for the enactment of CTA 1871 was that the British came to India for trade and exploit the natural resources. The industrialization in England required continuous supply of raw materials sourced from their colonies. For this, development of roads, rail network and sea-ports were important. But to this development, *Thugi* and *Dekaiti* remained a challenge as they looted and disrupted the supply chain. Thus, the British India Government enacted the CTA to suppress the

⁴³ M. Kennedy, *The Criminal Class in India*, Motilal Publications, Delhi, 1985.

⁴⁴ R. Shiva Prasad, *op. cit*, pg. 47

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004, pg. 34

'Hereditary Criminal' section of Indian society.⁴⁷ Such groups were put into settlements camps as slave labour and forced to do hard labour in the name of reformatory action. They were employed in the colonial construction projects of railways, bridges, mines, textile mills and factories. They could be carted off to any construction site. One of the popular examples is of the cellular jail in Andaman. Such tactics resembles that of the subjugation of the native American Indian population in the US by the European colonialists.

Under the CTA, around 191 communities were brought under its jurisdiction who had to abide by the law and give regular attendance with the local authority, passes had to be sought if any member among them had to visit outside the village. All the districts had to maintain a register with thumb impression of every member of the criminal community. Different categories of imprisonment were laid out depending on the level of crime. Even children were not excepted. The superintendent of the reformatory settlement was made official guardian of them who was authorized to take labour work from them if he felt that it was necessary to discipline them.

There were strict rules and inhuman treatment of the inmates. The traditional professions of those who lived outside the settlement camps were defined as 'illegal'. This led to the criminalization of the indigenous knowledge of India which had been nurtured over the centuries for sustainability of its communities. The CTA Act used the term 'tribe' in synonym to the 'gangs' which permanently marked them as criminal tribes. For example, the traditional nomadic hunter communities like the Mogia in Rajasthan and Pardhi in Madhya Pradesh who had deep knowledge about the flora and fauna of the land were listed as DNTs. Similarly, the long-distance traders, like the Banjara community who had deep knowledge about geography of the country were also listed under it. The wandering medicants, magicians and acrobats were officially marked as Thugs. They were seen as a threat to the establishment.

The British government never regarded the denotified tribes (DNT) and nomadic tribes (NT) as being of any economic importance. As already stated, they were also out of their system of revenue collection. They suspected the nomads and tried to sedentarise them through their policy of 'civilising' them.⁴⁸ Settlement camps were a product of this idea. This policy of permanent settlements of such communities still dominates Independent India. The nomadic communities are still suspected and looked down by the present authorities.

⁴⁷ Meena Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured by History, 'Criminal Tribes' and British Colonial Policy*, Orient Longman Private Limited, New Delhi, 2008, pg. 2.

⁴⁸ R. Siva Prasad, *op. cit.*

The Criminal Tribe Act was first enacted in North India (i.e. Punjab, North-West Provinces and Oudh) on 12th October, 1871 by the Governor-General of India Lord Mayo. Later it was extended to Bengal and Madras Presidency. Since the enactment of CTA there were subsequent revisions and amendments, and it was applied across India in different stages. The last amendment was done in 1924 which listed 191 communities under it. In this last amendment, the Meenas of Jaipur state were also included. To curb their power the Criminal Tribe Act was forced upon them from 7th September 1930 in the Jaipur state.⁴⁹

The CTA 1871 was based on three basic assumptions:

- All persons born in a criminal tribe will become criminal from birth as they will inherit their father's profession.
- They will take law violation behaviour as their profession and continue to commit crimes.
- Because of continuous practice of crime, they will become hardened criminals.

Thus, the Act required all the members of the Criminal Tribe to be registered and to report at the Police stations at fixed intervals. On change of their place of residence or their visit to another place, they had to inform the police and seek passes. On violation of it, the punishment prescribed for it was:

Imprisonment of one year for a first conviction; for two years for a second conviction, and for three years or a fine which may exceed to Rs. 500 or both on any subsequent convictions. These provisions under the Act made it clear that the British government believed in crime as hereditary which they could reform by ruthless punishment.⁵⁰ But in reality, it led to an increase in crime.

The restriction of movement of the DNTs was the main subject of the CTA. This affected the nomadic tribes badly because their livelihood was totally dependent on nomadism. Those communities who were settled in villages could not move out for their basic requirements which affected their socio-economic activities. Thus, when modernization was taking place, modern means of communication and transportation were developing during the 19th and 20th century AD, these communities could not harness their benefits. They missed the path of development being locked in settlements. Thus, CTA is largely responsible for the

⁴⁹ Rawat Saraswat, *Meena-Itihas*, Jhuthalal Nadla, Bassi, 1968, pg. 125.

⁵⁰ Y.C. Simhadri, *op. cit.*, pg. 22.

backwardness of these communities. In the settlement camps their capabilities and talents were not channelled and explored in a socially approved manner.

The Criminal Tribe Act 1871 required registration of all the members of the criminal tribe. The police and local government kept records of their identification marks and finger impressions. They were confined to a particular area; both men and women had to register their presence after specified intervals at the local police stations or with village headmen. Whenever they had to go out for business, to attend a social function or relatives, they had to carry an 'M' Pass⁵¹ and appear before the village head or police station to get their attendance marked. To take leave for longer duration they had to approach the Inspector General of Police and plead before them. Anyone disobeying this was prosecuted with a fine of one to three years of jail and penalty of Rs. 500.⁵²

The communities were declared Criminal Tribes on the recommendations of the local governments and their list was published in the gazettes. No court of Justice was allowed to question their notification. After the notification the local government was allowed to authorize the district magistrate to prepare a register of such criminal tribes, gang or class, or any part thereof. Their presence in any district was a proof of their residence. The magistrate was authorised to appoint a person to make a register of them. Such register was kept by the Superintendent of Police who would report to the Magistrate from time to time. Any alterations in the register were required to be through permission of the Magistrate and his initials against it were necessary.

These notifications of the criminal tribes were published under section eight of the CTA and the local headman, village watchman and landowner were informed through it. The limits of their movement were prescribed. Conditions of issuing passes under which members of CTA were allowed to leave were clearly laid out. The pass had a clear mention of the place where the holder of the pass might go or reside, to whom he should report from time to time, and the duration for which he might go out of the village. Disobeying it would lead to imprisonment and heavy fine. The CTA pass was carried safely in an iron tube which was either worn down the neck or tucked on waist fastened with a loin cloth. See image of M pass on the next page issued to a Meena man registered under the CTA in Jaipur state dating back to 1941 AD.

⁵¹ The 'M' Pass was mandatory for the member of criminal tribe to carry along which was issued by the Inspector General of Police. It was to be produced at intermediate police stations and allowed the member to visit the place of his relatives or business for particular duration mentioned in it. It also allowed them to use means of transportation like a horse and camel.

⁵² Rawat Saraswat, *op. cit.*, pg. 217.



Right: Criminal Tribe Pass – Facsimile of 'M' Pass issued to a Meena by Inspector General of Police, 1941 collected from Shri Laxminarain Jharwal, Jaipur.

Upon the discharge of the Criminal Tribes from operation of this Act they were settled in reformatory camps where they were employed for various works. With the sanction of the Governor General in Council, the local governments were allowed to keep the Criminal Tribes in reformatory settlements. If the listed criminal tribes had no place of residence, they were settled at places prescribed by the local government. They had a freedom to shift them to another place of residence. Their surveillance was authorised to the village headman or watchman. If he also failed to comply with it then he was subjected to punishment under the IPC section 167.

Part II of the CTA was meant for the Eunuchs (*hijras*) who were also required to register themselves. They were suspected of kidnapping, castrating children, and committing offences under section 377 of the IPC. There was a penalty on eunuchs if they appeared in female clothes, were found dancing in public or made themselves available for hire. They were not allowed to keep boys under 16 years of age. They were required to furnish information regarding their property to the authorities. They were not allowed to make gifts, make a will, or adopt a son.

Amendments in the CTA 1871

The various amendments in the CTA are of consideration because it led to sequential inclusion of many communities under its purview from 1871 AD to 1924 AD and the spread

of its jurisdiction area. The local governance of the states also contributed to the scale of implementation and rehabilitation of the tribes registered under it for which the Salvation Army members were authorised.

Prior to the CTA, some of these communities were locally recognized for their criminal activities and known through their caste names. But the listing of CTA criminalized the whole community across the geographies. It also labelled many of the innocent sections of the same community as criminals including women and children. After implementation the CTA 1871, these communities were treated as 'born criminals' involved in thefts, robbery and dacoity. This became their professional identity though many among them were agriculturists, pastoralists, forest hunters, entertainers, artisans, bards, medicants, astrologers, etc. The Act led to inclusion of 191 communities associated with 'crime' as their hereditary profession.

Crime is considered as violation of the criminal law of the state. Thus, the defaulter is liable to be penalised depending upon the severity of the crime. The state is entitled to prosecute with a punishment. But with CTA it was different. It first criminalized the communities to restrict their freedom of movement and livelihood. And whoever did not abide by the restrictions was subject to being penalized and punished. Even without any crime many were put into the settlement reformatory jails where they were treated inhumanly and put to hard labour. Thus, crime was not only the reason for constituting the CTA, but it was to keep a control on the suspected classes of the society, to restrict their movement which were a threat to the State. Most of these communities were wandering tribes, freedom loving beings, providing their professional services to the villagers. Many among them were bound with the *Jajmani* patronage system⁵³ having social relationships with the settled class.

CTA Amendment Act, 1897

The Criminal Tribe Act was amended number of times to suite the administrative policies, economic developments happening during the period and attitude of the British officers. CTA Amendment Act, 1897 was applied on 28th January 1897 through the assent of the Governor General Lord Bruce. During the formation of the CTA 1871, a member of the council argued for separating the children from parents stating the following:⁵⁴

⁵³ The Nat community of Rajasthan was primarily genealogist to the sedentary communities living in Haryana and Punjab and would visit them periodically to earn their living. Simultaneously they entertained them with their acrobatic and dance skills. The Raj Nat and Mirasi were employed by the royals for entrainment through their music and dance. In Madhya Pradesh, the Bachhada and Bedia families known for their dance were provided with land and remuneration by their *Jamindars* in lieu of entertaining them.

⁵⁴ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 4-5.

"No one who had to do with the police execution of a district could fail to know how deeply inbred in certain classes of the population these lawless habits were and how impossible it was for a child, so unfortunately circumstanced, to break away from the traditional habits of the community in which it was born. These children were brought up to look upon theft as an honourable duty and as a matter of daily occurrence... The skill and intelligence of the children were very remarkable, and it was a pity that they should not be utilized for right and useful purposes instead of being directed to mischievous and depraved ends. If the State exercised a wholesome severity on the one hand, it was only right that, on the other, it should extend the opportunity of improvements to every class of its subjects."

The CTA Amendment Act 1897 empowered the local government to separate the children aged between 4 to 18 years from the Criminal Tribes. They were shifted to reformatory settlements supervised by the superintendent appointed by the local government. The Superintendent was deemed guardian of the child. These children were apprenticed under the Act No. XIX of 1850.

Under this Amendment Act 1897 on the recommendations of the Police Committee, penalties on the second and third conviction were increased under section 19 for specific offences. These punishments ranged from seven years of imprisonment to transportation for life depending on the number of convictions. They also prescribed punishment to persons suspected of having the intention of robbery, with imprisonment extending to three years and they were liable to a fine. Various sections of the IPC schedule were also added to it. The amendment happened specifically due to the serious crimes committed by the Sansi tribe. The Police Committee appointed by the Government of the North Western Provinces also made recommendations to take strict action against the Criminal Tribes.

Criminal Settlement Act of 1908

Until 1908, the members of the Criminal Tribes were caught and put into jails. If men were caught their families either suffered financially and emotionally or continued to practice crime for sustenance. The inmates in the jail became hardened criminals on being released after their term. The Salvation Army members arrived to do corrective efforts to rehabilitate members of the criminal tribes. They experimented with the help of local governments and police departments and decided that separate settlements were required to deal with these communities in a humanistic manner.

The rehabilitation efforts of the British led to the passing of the Criminal Settlement Act of 1908. It prescribed reformatory settlements where the convicts along with the families could be placed together and taught to work to live honest lives. The non-convicts were registered

and supervised by the police. They were under surveillance of the local government and the police. It was hoped that this would lead to the complete reformation of the criminals, but it didn't work. Due to its failure CTA was again amended in 1911.

Criminal Tribe Act of 1911

The Criminal Tribe Act 1911 was passed on 1st March by the Governor General of India Lord Hardinge. Prior to 1911, the CTA was operational mainly in Punjab, Oudh and North West Provinces. From 1911, the CTA was extended to the whole of British India listing many of the communities as criminal tribes under it. For example in the Madras Presidency, it affected 14,00,000 people. An itinerant trading community like the Korava was notified in large numbers under it.⁵⁵ Thus the subsequent amendments were aimed at expanding the scope of CTA across India by involving the local governments and giving them a free hand to notify more and more communities. Under this act special provision was made to record finger impressions of the adult male members.

The main features of it were that it empowered and gave a free hand to the local government to notify the criminal tribes, gang, and class of persons, or any part of tribe or class in its gazette as a Criminal Tribe. The local government directed the District Magistrate to make a register of the criminal tribe members falling in his district. Following this the members had to give regular attendance and their finger impressions were also recorded. It was at the mercy of the District Magistrate to exempt any individual member of the tribe from the register. This register was then placed before the Superintendent of the Police.

CTA 1911 also classified the criminal tribes into three categories, i.e. 1) Tribes who were originally criminals but had settled down to honest occupations, though some sections or individuals among them continued to live by crime; 2) Tribes who had settled abodes and generally some ostensible occupation but who periodically committed robberies and dacoities at distant places from their homes and lived by such gains and 3) wandering tribes who wandered continuously in the country and committed depredations whenever opportunities arose. Thus under the amended Act, different methods were suggested to deal with these three kinds of Criminal Tribes.

Under the CTA 1871 two provisions were prescribed for Criminal Tribes, i.e. registration and settlement. Registration was necessary to keep a watch on them, specifically if the tribe was of a wandering nature so that they could be traced when suspected of crime. Settlement was for locating the criminal tribes in special areas under close surveillance. In settlement camps they were under close observation of the settlement officers. The new Criminal Tribe Act 1911 ended the requirement of settlements or the provision of means of living. The Act

⁵⁵ Meena Radhakrishna, *op. cit.*, pg. 2.

empowered the local government to notify the Criminal Tribe and to be registered, their finger impression taken for observation and supervision. It had provision that the more criminal minded members could be restricted to a specific region or interned in settlements to be specially established for them. They were treated according to the degree of their criminality.

This settlement Act was an experiment to segregate the community based on their degree of criminality to have control over their activities. These settlements were handed over to the Salvation Army who had no understanding of their socio-cultural background but took it as their moral duty to refine these people. The kind of works taken up in settlement camps were related to agriculture, handloom weaving, needle work and industries.

For children of the criminal tribes, aged between six to eighteen years, industrial, agriculture and reformatory schools were established. They were separated from their parents and put into these schools under the supervision of Superintendents appointed by the local government under the Reformatory School Act, 1897. They were believed to be youthful offenders within the meaning of this act.

The punishments and penalties laid out under it were similar to the previous CTA of 1908. But in the schedule more sections were added, for example addition of the section related to counterfeiting coins.

Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act 1923

Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act 1923 received the assent of the Governor General on 1st February 1923 which was an extension with more clarity of the CTA 1911. The amendment took place due to difficulties faced by the local governments regarding the CTA 1911. Thus to address these problems the representatives of various Provinces and Indian States met at a conference in Delhi in 1919. They made certain proposals to rectify the defects faced by them in implementing the CTA 1911. Another reason for amendment was the report of the Indian Jails Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1919 which made enquiries about the administration of the settlements constituted under the CTA 1911. The committee had visit the settlements in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Madras. They came up with the suggestion that a formal enquiry was necessary before any individual is classified under the section 11 or 16 of the CTA and the law should not be converted into an 'engine of oppression'. The committee made the suggestion that the purpose of the settlements should be the absorption of the settlers into the general body of the community.

Taking note of the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee and the various proposals made by the conference, CTA 1911 was amended and Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act, 1923 was passed. It made the following provisions:

1. Before admitting any Criminal Tribes in the settlement, an enquiry was prescribed to establish the necessity for placing the tribe in a settlement.
2. The Criminal Tribes belonging to one Province could be restricted or settled in another Province with consent of the Government of that Province.
3. The Criminal Tribes could be shifted to other Provinces only after necessary provisions for restriction and settlement of the Criminal Tribes was made by law in those states.

The Government of India through its Home Department letter No. 593 of 3rd April 1920, stated that the Act should be used effectively for prevention of crime, proper treatment of the Criminal Tribes in the matter of wages, housing, etc. and also for their reclamation.

CTA 1923 increased the involvement of the local government whose consent was required for placement of the criminal tribe in settlement because its expenses of maintenance were borne by them. Police officers above the rank of sub-inspector were allowed to arrest the suspects or offender of non-cognizable offense under section 22 (3) without a warrant.

Criminal Tribes Act of 1924

Prior to the CTA (Amendment) 1923, the CTA 1911 was amended by the Repealing and Amending Act of 1911 and 1914 and also the Devolution Act of 1920. Further with modification in the Act by CTA (Amendment) 1923, the law in question got considerably fragmented and difficult to comprehend. Thus it became necessary to put the whole law together in one place. Therefore in 1924, the law related to Criminal Tribes was consolidated into one Act, viz., the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924 which remained in force till its repeal in 1952.

This act labelled some of the members as habitual offenders who were to be put under constant surveillance. This was the last amendment of CTA which was applied on 15th March, 1924 and continued till 31st August 1952, when it was repealed. Some of its main features are as under:

1. Notification: The Section III of the Act empowered the local government to notify any of the tribe, gang, class of persons or their section as a criminal tribe for their act of non-bailable offenses.

2. Registration: After notification it was the duty of the District Magistrate to register such notified persons, gangs or tribes on the recommendation of the local government.
3. Settlements: Section XIV of the CTA describe reformatories for the notified persons in form of agriculture and educational settlements. The local government was given the power to relocate any of the tribes, gangs or individuals in any type of the criminal settlements. This could also be done for persons convicted earlier and who could not pay the fine.
4. Punishment: Section XXIII of the CTA described punishment for a first time convict under the IPC schedule first. It stated that if the same person is convicted for a second time, the imprisonment was for seven to ten years, and if convicted on a third instance then punishment was transportation for life. This section also prescribes further punishments.

From the above, we should appreciate that these sections led to unwarranted multilayer restrictions and punishments. The law was exploitative in nature. In Jaipur State, CTA 1924 came into effect under which the members of the Criminal Tribe had to carry their identity card, viz., the 'M' Pass all the time carefully placed in an iron tube worn around their neck. They were not allowed to carry any arms for self-protection. Travelling on horse, camel or cycle was prohibited. In the event of theft or robbery they were called to the police station and interrogated. Finding no evidence of guilt, they were beaten and prosecuted. Due to such restrictions and inhuman treatment, innocent people sometimes actually became criminals. Those who could not bear the severe punishment, committed suicide.⁵⁶

To get a pass to leave the settlement camp or village for necessary work like marriage, or to visit a relative, the applicant had to visit the police officer or village headman authorised by the local government. In exchange for issuing the pass, the enlisted members were forced to do free labour for them. A first-hand account of how Meenas of Jaipur, suffered at the time of Independence is as follows:⁵⁷

Whenever a theft occurs in any nearby locality, it is taken for granted that they (the Meenas) have committed it and their property is confiscated. They are arrested and

⁵⁶ Stated by Retd. IPS Shri Laxman Singh (Meena), village Gudiani, district Rewari in Haryana about the suicide of his great grandfather who was asked by the British police officer to either disclose the accused's name or accept the theft case for himself. Not being able to answer the police he jumped into the open well and died.

⁵⁷ Statement of Ram Singh Naurawat, Convener, Rajasthan Meena Panchayat quoted by Rameshwari Nehru in a report in *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 9 September 1949. Rameshwari Nehru was involved in rehabilitation of Meenas. She was well connected with the members of Jaipur Rajya Meena Sudhar Samiti.

kept behind the bars without prosecution. They are the first and common victims of police exploitation and they have to give bribes to redeem themselves from police *zoolum* (atrocities). They are forcibly employed without adequate remuneration by rich Marwaris.

The reporter Rameshwari Nehru further writes, 'in this manner, in the words of the Convener of the [Meena] Panchayat, even the right of existence has been snatched from these unfortunate people. They are indeed veritable slaves of Free India'. This gave birth to bribery at the local level. This practice still continues as acknowledged by 11.7% households in this report (see chart 12.d).

Criminal Tribe (Amendment) Act 1946

With the passing of time, members of the Criminal Tribes started getting educated and adopted lawful occupations. It was felt that the rigid punishment laid out in section 23 of the CTA should be relaxed and the whole tribe should not be dubbed as criminal. Public opinion also supported this view. Thus in 1946, a private bill to amend section 23 of the Act was introduced in the Central Assembly. It was passed in 1947, and became the Criminal Tribe (Amendment) Act 1947. By this Act the minimum punishment prescribed for second and third convictions for specified offences was abolished.

The Criminal Tribe Act 1924 remained a Central Act, the Provinces were free to amend and repeal the Act and its application in their territories. Under this provision the Government of Rajasthan, Madras and Bombay amended the Act before its repeal in other states.

Looking at the above amendments in the CTA we can summarise that the purpose for which it was instituted, and amended a number of times was never achieved. It led to a further increase in criminality as the Act itself forced many innocent people into crime over the period of eighty years. The government aimed to settle the wandering tribes by reformatory methods, they were encouraged to adopt honest livelihoods, but the social status of criminality and conditions remained the same as before. The stigma of their identity was never worked upon by the successive governments in the post-Independent era. In 1952 when they were denotified and freed from the settlements, they had no place to go with the maligned identity stamped by the British and local governments. They were never accepted by the main stream society. They missed many opportunities entitled to others. It became a blot of indelible ink on them which continues till today.

Reformatory efforts for abolishment of the Criminal Tribe Act

During the Congress session of 1920, protests against the CTA were openly addressed to save human rights and freedom from the foreign power. When Mahatma Gandhi headed the

Congress, he also opposed the CTA. In 1936 a meeting was held at Nellore in Andhra Pradesh under the banner of 'Akhil Bhartiya Adivasi Sewak Sangh' in which Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru made a statement that the book of this law should be burnt, as the law was inhuman and barbaric.⁵⁸ He said:

I am aware of this monstrous provisions of the Criminal Tribe Act which constitute a negation of civil liberty. Wide publicity should be given to it working, and an attempt made to have the Act removed from the Statute Book. No tribe could be classified as criminal as such and the whole principle is out of consonance with all civilized principles of criminal justice and treatment of offenders.⁵⁹

Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel criticized the CTA at various meetings. In 1939, Amratlal Thakar Bapa of Bhartiya Adivasi Sevak Sangh submitted many memorandums to UP Congress committee for abolishment of the CTA.⁶⁰

After India gained Independence on 15th August 1947, the social leaders, reformers, and politicians took note of the problem. The Indian Federal Government set up a committee in 1949 to study the useful existence of the law. They found it against the spirit of the constitution. Following it, in 1950 Ayyengar Commission was constituted to study the condition of communities listed under the CTA. Thus after eighty years of its existence, CTA was removed on 31st August 1952. But at the same time Habitual Offenders Act came into existence applied by local government in their jurisdictions. Some have already applied it before the repeal and after 1952. For example, in Rajasthan, the total abolishment of CTA was not liked by the state government. Thus, they replaced it with the Rajasthan Habitual Criminals (Registration and Regulation) Act-1950. Government of Rajasthan stated that 'the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act is necessary, but it must simultaneously be replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act without which it will not be possible for the police to grapple with crime successfully'.⁶¹ But it was a big respite for the CTA communities as it clearly mandates, '...in light of Section 14 of the Constitution, so that no-one is subjected to restrictions merely on account of his birth and, instead, only a class of persons who come up to a certain standard of criminal record would be so subject without any discrimination against individuals or communities.' (C.P.S Menon, Under Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs).

⁵⁸ Laxmi Narayan Jharwal, *Meena Jati Aur Swantrata ka Itihas*, Jharwal Prakashan, Jaipur, 2003, pg. 132.

⁵⁹ V Raghaviah, *Tribal Justice*, Adimjati Seval Sangh, Nellore, 1977, pg. 7.

⁶⁰ Jharwal, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 88.

The Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act 1952

This law was prepared and ready by 6th March 1952 which was aimed to repeal the CTA 1924 and every law thereto in force in any State or Province of India from 31st August 1952. It was applicable in the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

With the repeal of the CTA some 2,268,348 persons in India were set free. The committee appointed by the Indian government in 1949 also recommended that suitable steps should be taken for the amelioration of the criminal tribes after the repeal of the Act.⁶²

After the Criminal Tribe Act of 1871 was repealed, the identity of the communities listed under it changed from Criminal Tribes to Habitual Offenders.⁶³ They were also known as denotified tribes or Vimukta Jatis signifying ex-criminal tribes. Though the word of criminality was removed legally from their identity but socially it remained attached to them till date. They are still looked on as criminal classes. For example the Kalbelia community is highly recognized internationally for their dance and songs⁶⁴ but at the same time when any member of their community is caught in crime, they are marked as 'Criminal Kalbelia Gangs' (see Picture 12) by the police and media. The prejudice still remains even after seven decades of Independence and denotification of the CTA communities.

Susan Abraham writes, 'Instead of celebrating the militant and heroic heritage of those designated 'criminal tribes' by the British rulers, independent India continues to ill-treat them. With cruel irony constant harassment in fact drives some of them to crime'.⁶⁵ The stigma of criminality was not washed away through de-notification of these communities but it continued to stay with them both administratively and socially. This report also illustrates cases of custodial deaths, illegal detention and harassment in police stations and mid-night raids on *deras* of the DNT and NT communities. Innocent women and children are picked up for interrogation if family male heads are not found. Youths are denied boarding facilities in cities if they want to get higher education and better jobs. The caste identity stigma continues, leading to socio-economic and political backwardness of these communities after 70 years of de-notification and 75 years of India's Independence. If this situation has not changed over a period of seven to eight decades then surely it is going to

⁶² Y.C. Simhadri, *op. cit.*, pg. 29.

⁶³ Various statewide Habitual Offenders Acts (HOA) were made by individual states to control the communities who were freed from the CTA. The only difference between the CTA and HOA was that in CTA it was the whole community and while in HOA there were individual members. Otherwise, the sections and provisions were similar.

⁶⁴ Kalbelia is the only community from Rajasthan recognized under the ICH list of UNESCO for their dance and songs. See Picture 23.

⁶⁵ Susan Abraham. "Steal or I'll Call You a Thief: 'Criminal' Tribes of India." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 34, no. 27, 1999, pp. 1751–1753. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4408149. Accessed 25 June 2021.

get worse with the new state policies coming into action having no consideration for them. The data analysis report gives a more clear picture of these issues in real time.

De-notification of the Criminal Tribes on 31st August, 1952 and later developments

The process of de-notification started in 1949 with the formation of the Ayyangar Committee as stated above to look towards the rescue of these communities from the tag of criminality imposed by the British and the local governments. On its recommendation these communities were set free but the process of 'de-notification' which categorised them as denotified tribes, permanently established their criminal identities. The annulation of CTA was replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act (HOA). These communities immediately became its subject. Only the difference was that instead of the whole family, individuals are registered under it (HOA).

The CTA was replaced by the Habitual Offenders Act in different states in different time periods. Its structure was derived from the earlier Criminal Tribes Act-1871. HOA re-stigmatized the already marginalized tribes listed under the CTA. It did not show any change in its intent and behaviour towards these communities in the eyes of the law. Thus the stigma of criminality and oppression continued with them. The enactment of the HOA gave full power to the police to investigate habitual offenders without producing warrants. Thus in the present time, members of the denotified tribes are falsely abducted, interrogated and put under detention for any period. This has led to many false arrests and custodial deaths of the de-notified tribe members (see Picture 15).

The de-notification itself came as a branding of these communities as ex-criminals or once criminals. Thus the state and society continue to look at them with hatred and negativity. We see regular cases of mob-lynching, illegal detentions by police and tagging them as criminal gangs by the media. These factors finally force many of the innocent into crime. Similarly, many circumstances of poverty and discrimination force women and young girls into prostitution. Out of humiliation and torture many youths commit suicide. Such stories remain unnoticed in the mainstream media.

Post-Independence, the government of India started looking at these communities for their rehabilitation and social development. Thus various committees and commissions were appointed to address their problems and issues. Some of these are listed below in chronological order:

Report - The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949-1950)

This is popularly known as the Ayyangar Committee⁶⁶ which was constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India to recommend repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924, and similar provisions which declared a particular class of people criminals on the basis of their caste or birth in a particular caste. This was considered as inconsistent with the dignity of free India.⁶⁷ The Committee's recommendations removed the legal inconsistencies that the Criminal Tribes Act had with the Constitution of India. Some of the provinces already repealed the act by replacing it with the Habitual Offenders' Act. Soon after Independence, Govt. of India wanted to know whether to modify the CTA 1924 or repeal it altogether across the country. Thus the enquiry committee was formed under the chairmanship of A. Ayyangar on 28th September 1949.

The Committee recommended several steps towards the uplift of the conditions of the Criminal Tribes after the repeal of the Act. The Committee's recommendations were essentially directed at the improvement of the conditions of those socially backward and economically depressed sections and also to ensure that some of them from these backward classes, who had criminal leanings in the past, do not revert to crime on the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act. Annexure 1.1 shows the list of DNT communities listed as Criminal Tribes in different States and Provinces during the time of Independence. Annexure 1.3 shows list of Settlement Camps which existed at the time of Independence and where this survey has also taken place.

The Habitual Offenders' Act (HBA), 1952

The Habitual Offenders Act came into being in 1952, but it was already in existence under various state legislatures like that of Rajasthan.⁶⁸ This Act required the person declared as a habitual offender to report to the local authorities about his presence and whereabouts in the region. This was meant for restrictions on the Habitual Offenders on the lines of the CTA. A register of the Habitual Offenders was made mandatory to be kept at the local police stations. Only the difference between the HBA and CTA was that instead of criminalization of the communities, it was targeted on individuals. Again these individuals were mostly among the DNTs. Thus the police continued harassing the DNT members through this Act, which continues till today.

⁶⁶ Chaired by Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (MP), its members were Shri A.V. Thakkar (MP), Shri K Chaliha (MP), V.N. Tivary (MLA-Uttar Pradesh), Sardar Gurbachan Singh (MLA-Punjab), Shri J.K. Biswas, Retd. Chief Presidency Magistrate Calcutta. Its Secretary was Shri P.C. Dave.

⁶⁷ Introduction to the Report - The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949-1950).

⁶⁸ In Rajasthan the CTA was replaced by The Rajasthan Habitual Criminal Act in 1950.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar Committee Report, 1953

The first Backward Classes Commission was appointed on the 29th January 1953, under the Chairmanship of Kakasaheb Kalelkar after independence. Its objective was to study the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and make suggestions for any modifications in order to make them 'exhaustive and up-to-date'. But the main concern for the Commission was to prepare a list of the third category, viz. Backward Classes. This was aimed to overcome 'racialism, communalism and caste segregations'. This was necessary to establish a secular and democratic state and to exercise the constitutional rights.

In Chapter-IV (Problems of Special Groups) of the report, at Para 41 around 127 groups aggregating to 22.68 lakhs have been recognized as 'Ex-Criminal Tribes' in 1949. From it, 77,159 were registered under the CTA.⁶⁹ They were divided into two sections (i) nomadic and (ii) settled. Nomadic constituted the wandering groups like the Sansi and Kanjar while the settled groups are descendants of irregular fighting men or persons uprooted from their original homes due to invasions and other political upheavals.⁷⁰ It made the following important recommendations regarding the above mentioned two sections of the denotified tribes:

- 1) Instead of naming them as 'Tribes', 'Criminal' or 'Ex-criminals', they should be simply called denotified communities.
- 2) The Commission categorised them under the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and the newly formed Backward Classes to avail benefits under them, instead of classifying them under a separate category. The Commission also made provision for the nomadic groups with no permanent base to settle down to steady productive business.
- 3) To assimilate them in the mainstream society, suggestions were made to settle them in towns and villages. Establishment of rehabilitation programs and moral education to improve their conduct helping them to secure settled occupations, life and jobs.
- 4) The commission has also made recommendation for the abolishment of hereditary caste panchayat system which has also been the reason for their backwardness.

⁶⁹ Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Government of India Press, 1955, Vol. I, pg. 36.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pg. 35.

- 5) The children of these groups should be trained in basic education and vocational skills. Help of the trained psychologists and social workers should be employed to reform the habitual offenders.
- 6) It also recommended that group criminality be treated differently from the acquired criminality of the individuals.

Lokur Committee Report, 1965

In 1965, an Advisory Committee was constituted for the revision of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes list by Government of India under the chairmanship of Mr. B. N. Lokur. The Committee while revising the list of Scheduled Tribes looked for certain indicators such as primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large, and backwardness. The Committee also suggested that tribes whose members have by and large mingled with the general population are not eligible to be in the list of Scheduled Tribes. The Committee's remarks on De-Notified and Nomadic Tribes were quite interesting. In the matter of defining them as De-Notified and Nomadic Tribes, the Lokur Committee recommended that it would be more scientific to refer them as 'communities'.⁷¹ The same was also proposed in the Kakasaheb Kalelkar's Backward Classes Commission Report.

Another anomaly that the Lokur Committee found was that the same community (for example, Pardhi) is listed as Scheduled Tribe in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra while in the neighbouring state of Rajasthan it is categorised as a Scheduled Caste. Its roots were found in the complex caste system, tribal characteristics, social hierarchy, nomadic traits and anti-social heritage.⁷² The Report further states that no detailed study was undertaken by the government to understand complexity of the communities. From the cultural history and oral narrative account of these communities one may understand the complexities of various communities and sub-castes originating from common ethnic group of 'Bhantu'. On studying the Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar communities we see that it becomes highly complicated where the descendants are from the higher caste paternal groups like Solanki, Chauhan, Tyagi, Chaudhary, etc. but they still bear the stigma of casteism.

The Lokur Committee report further stated that the schemes meant for the SC & ST communities have not benefited the DNT and NT communities because of their relatively small number and nomadism. Thus it made a recommendation that it would be in the best interest of these communities if they are taken out from the lists of Scheduled Castes and

⁷¹ The Report of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of The Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Deptt. of Social Security, Govt. of India, 1965, pg. 16.

⁷² *Ibid.*

Scheduled Tribes and treated exclusively as a distinct group, with development schemes specially designed to suit their dominant characteristics.

Due to shortage of time and inadequate research on these communities the Committee was unable to take any decision to categorise them separately. The Committee stated in their report that, '...we are not in a position to decide on merit the cases of individual communities. We have, therefore, no option but to maintain the status quo ante'.⁷³ It ended up in making only one suggestion to rectify that the DNT and NT should be identified as communities rather than tribes.

Mandal Commission Report, 1980

The Mandal Commission was constituted on the 20th December, 1978 during the Morarji Desai Government under the chairmanship of Mr. B. P. Mandal. After the Lokur Commission, this was the second Backward Classes Commission. To determine the social and educational backwardness, it strongly recommended that caste should be the basis for this determining which was opposed in the Kaka Kelkatr Commission. This was in view of both the Articles 15(4) and 340(1). The Mandal Commission through its recommendations brought the focus back to caste-based oppression. But it faced the biggest challenge of having no caste census to enumerate the population of backward classes. The last caste census that India has is of 1931.

One of the member of the Commission, Shri L.R. Naik has insisted to split the Other Backward Classes into two sections, viz. Intermediate Backward Classes and Depressed Backward Classes.⁷⁴ This was minuted but was not taken into account by the Chairman of the Commission Shri Mandal.

The Mandal Commission estimated the population of the Other Backward Classes as 52%.⁷⁵ Similarly the population of the SC & ST communities stands to 22.5% corresponding to their same percentage of reservation in government jobs and constitutional bodies. The Mandal Commission reasoned that according to Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution the total reservation could not exceed 50%. Thus in view of the legal constraints, the Commission was obliged to recommend a reservation of 27% only, even though their population stood twice of this figure.⁷⁶ It further stated that those states which have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27%, will remain unaffected by this recommendation. The Commission did not look separately towards the issue of the DNTs

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pg. 17.

⁷⁴ Report of the Backward Classes Commission (Mandal Commission Report), First Part, 1980, pg. iv.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pg. 56.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pg. 58.

and NTs but enumerated them in the list of OBCs by accounting stigma of low occupation, criminality, nomadism, beggary and untouchability to identify social backwardness.⁷⁷ Thus, today many of them fall in the OBC category. One may also see in this survey report (Table 2.i) that Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia, Nat, Pardhi and Sansi found place in the OBC list described differently among the three states under study. In Rajasthan many of the Kalbelia community members use Jogi or Nath⁷⁸ as their surnames. Kalbelia are SCs but if they apply Jogi or Nath as surname they are disqualified from procuring SC Caste Certificates.

One of the issues that the Commission acknowledged while preparing a comprehensive list of the OBCs was that, 'it is quite likely that several synonyms of the castes listed as backward have been left out... Their names vary from one region to the other and their complete coverage is almost impossible. In view of this the Commission recommends that if a particular caste has been listed as backward then all its synonyms whether mentioned in the State list or not should also be treated as backward'.⁷⁹ But as we look into the entitlement documents of the DNT and NT communities we find that caste certificates is a major problem for many due to their different *gotra* or clan names. The Mandal commission made various recommendations for reservations in government jobs and constitutional bodies, educational concessions, financial assistance, structural changes and support from the Centre. But when we look for the DNTs and NTs (under any of the reserved categories) we find that such benefits does not filter down to them due to their illiteracy, ignorance and remoteness.

Based on the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, on 7 August 1990, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Prime Minister at the time, announced that Other Backward Classes (OBCs) would get 27 per cent reservation in jobs in central government services and public sector units. His announcement sparked anti-Mandal protests.⁸⁰ The announcement was made before both Houses of Parliament. OBC quota in central govt institutions was implemented in 1992 while education quota came into force in 2006.

National Human Rights Commission Report, 1999-2000

Based on the petition received from the Denotified and Nomadic Tribals Rights Action Group (formed on 12th March 1998 at Tejgadh, with Mahasweta Devi as President and GN Devy as secretary) stating continuity of treatment of the DNT and NT communities as

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pg. 54.

⁷⁸ They have same ancestral lineage - see section on Kalbelia cultural history.

⁷⁹ Report of the Backward Classes Commission (Mandal Commission Report), *op. cit.*, pg. 55.

⁸⁰ It evolved into anti-Mandal protests, which took an ugly turn in September 1990 when Delhi University student from Deshbandhu College, Rajeev Goswami, self-immolated. Goswami became the face of the anti-Mandal movement at that point (Revathi Krishnan, 7 August, 2020 8:03 pm IST, The Print).

Habitual Offenders and that they face mob-lynching, arson and police brutality, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) appointed an Advisory Group on Denotified and Nomadic Tribes to advise the commission regarding the issue raised in the petition. On 15th February 2000, the commission held a high-level meeting to discuss the problems of the DNT and NT communities attended by Smt. Mahasweta Devi, President and Dr G.N. Devy, Secretary of the Denotified and Nomadic Tribals Rights Action Group along with the Chief Secretaries of Karnataka, Rajasthan and West Bengal; Addl. Chief Secretaries of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra; Principal Secretaries of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Punjab; Secretary Home, Gujarat; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and senior officers of NHRC. The following decisions were taken in the meeting:⁸¹

- 1) Repeal Habitual Offenders Act on recommendation of NHRC.
- 2) Each State will work to deal with specific requirements and problems of the DNT and NT and cases of atrocities against them and report the same to the Commission.
- 3) A retired senior police officer of high reputation in every state shall be appointed as a watchdog of cases of atrocities against DNTs. Along with that the Commission's Special Rapporteurs and the State Human Rights Commission will also associate themselves with this work.
- 4) It recommended that the National Police Academy and other institutions imparting training to police officers should reorient their syllabi and that the Habitual Offenders Act should be repealed.
- 5) It also recommended systematic enumeration of NT-DNTs throughout the country other than in cases where all such tribes had been merged into SC/ST/OBC categories.
- 6) It was decided to provide better access to education, employment and other infrastructural facilities to the DNT and NT communities.
- 7) The states were asked to work out action plans for NT-DNTs. The states were asked to report back on the action taken by them on their recommendations.

The above subjects were taken up with the state governments but later due to lack of follow up nothing was achieved in this matter.

⁸¹ National Human Rights Commission Annual Report 1990-2000, pg. 69.

Justice Venkatachaliah Commission

The National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution was set up vide Government Resolution dated 22 February, 2000 under the Chairmanship of Justice M. N. Venkatachaliah. The terms of reference stated that the Commission shall examine, in the light of the experience of the past 50 years, as to how best the Constitution can respond to the changing needs of efficient, smooth and effective system of governance and socio-economic development of modern India within the framework of Parliamentary democracy, and to recommend changes, if any, that are required in the provisions of the Constitution without interfering with its basic structure or features. The Commission submitted its report on 31st March, 2002.⁸² The Commission made a review on the plight of the Denotified and Nomadic Communities in Chapter 10 (Pace of Socio-Economic Change and Development). It recommended the establishment of a Commission to review things related to these communities.

The Commission made an observation that the denotified tribes/communities have been wrongly stigmatized as crime prone and subjected to wrong treatment and exploitation by the government system and society. It further said that the recommendations made by different Commissions and working groups did not receive attention. In dealing with these communities there has been neglect of the Constitution mandate including Article 46.⁸³ The Commission also points out that the setting up of an integrated network of National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Authority to provide a structural mechanism to deal with the DNTs in a practical way as well as nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes/communities within the frame work of the Special Component Plan (for SCs) and Tribal sub-Plan. The Commission recommended separate and special treatment so that the living conditions of these communities could be improved.

Technical Advisory Group (TAG) Report, 2006

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, vide its notification dated 8th September 2006 constituted the Technical Advisory Group to review schemes, suggest action plan, examine representations and recommendations for the development of the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Tribes and provide their inputs to the National Commission for De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNST) headed by Dr. Ranke. Its Chairperson was Prof. G. N. Devy along with the members Dr. Rudolf Heredia, Prof. Ajay Dandekar, Dr. Meena Radhakrishna, Dr. Anil Pandey, Shri Mohd.

⁸² See <https://legalaffairs.gov.in/ncrwc-report>

⁸³ Article 46 states that "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

Aslam, Prof. Kanji Patel and Prof. K. M. Metry. There was a difference of opinion between the TAG and the Chairman of the NCDNST regarding the schemes recommended by the TAG being incorporated into the Eleventh Five Year Plan Allocations.⁸⁴ This was due to the fact that NCDNST was already preparing a proposal for the Ministry regarding the Schemes for the DNT development. TAG insisted that the proposal for schemes and programmes for the DNT, NT and SNT communities should be placed well in advance to the Planning Commission for allocation of budget in the Eleventh Five Year Plan.

The TAG strongly recommended preparing a Comprehensive National List of De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes and Communities (CNL-DNSTC), at par with Schedule of Tribes and Schedule of Castes for the purpose of ensuring an equitable delivery of rights, entitlements and social justice; for redressal of the stigma of criminality and for facilitating inter-ministerial coordination in dealing with these Tribes and Communities. The TAG recommended Ministerial Allocations for the De-Notified and Nomadic communities listed in the Scheduled of Tribes placed under the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and the De-Notified and Nomadic communities listed in the Schedule of Castes be placed under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

The group also recommended enumeration of NT-DNT communities and their locations. In order to determine the population of the De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic communities, it recommended that the Indian Institute of Statistics may be asked to prepare population projections. In order to determine the precise locations to create comprehensive development schemes for De-Notified Tribes, it recommended that the list of settlements established during the colonial period, and cited by the Ayyangar Committee report, should form the baseline.

The TAG recommended rights⁸⁵, entitlements and protective mechanisms⁸⁶, non-displacement guarantee, compensation norms, protection of electoral rights and mobile voting system, forests grazing and passage rights, issuance of domicile and birth certificate, protection to women, representation of DNTs in democratic bodies, livelihood security, educational facilities, hostels for students and old age houses, and healthcare for the NT-DNT communities.⁸⁷

The TAG report also made suggestion to form Development Boards which can look after the overall development schemes of the DNTs. For constitutional protection it

⁸⁴ According to their first meeting held at ICSSR, New Delhi on 26th September 2006.

⁸⁵ One of the important demands was to extend the Atrocities Act to the denotified, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes.

⁸⁶ It demanded complete abolishment of the Habitual Offenders Act from all the states.

⁸⁷ Issues, Suggestions and Concerns of the TAG report, 2006, pg. 11.
(<http://www.bhasharesearch.org/Reports/TAG%20Report.pdf>)

recommended the preparation of the Third Schedule of the DNTs. Provision for separate reservation was proposed in Governance bodies such as Panchayat/Municipal, Zilla Parishad, State and National level bodies.

National Commission for De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes, 2008

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (SJE) constituted a National Commission for De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNT) in November 2003 which was reconstituted on 14th March, 2005.⁸⁸ Mr. Balkrishna Renke was appointed its Chairman on 6th February 2006. Its purpose was to study the socio-economic conditions of the Denotified, Nomadic & Semi-nomadic Tribes (DN-NT-SNT). The Commission submitted its report in July 2008 and made 76 recommendations that broadly pertain to:

1. Classification of the Denotified Tribes, Semi-Nomadic Tribes and Nomadic Tribes as 'Denotified and Nomadic Tribes' viz. DNTs.
2. It emphasized on proper identification of the DNTs spread across different states and UTs. Enumerate their population.⁸⁹
3. The Commission asked for constitution of an Advisory Committee at the State/UT level to the district level to look into their socio-economic issues. It asked the Union/State/UT Governments to form a separate target group irrespective of their categorization to SCs/STs/OBCs and ensure welfare schemes for them.
4. It suggested to organize on-the spot camps for issue of identity, entitlement certificates and make provisions for basic amenities like housing and food security. It suggested the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment should earmark proper outlay of various schemes for benefit of the DNTs ranging from education, hostels, residential schools, livelihood, housing, to health facilities.
5. It made a recommendation to set-up Special Socio-Economic Zones (SSESZ) for the Nomadic Tribes at suitable locations, preferably near the Special Economic Zones or Industrial area with facility of electricity, drinking water and schools.

⁸⁸ Vide Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment Resolution No. 12016/17/2004-SCD (R.L.Cell).

⁸⁹ Based on the 1931 Caste Census their population was estimated to be 10-12 Crore by the Renke Commission in the country.

6. Provision for set-up of cottage industry, skill-development programs through National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC), and employment generation through Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC), Self Help Groups (SHGs), etc. It also recommended for set-up of DNT Finance and Development Corporation for credit support to their small businesses.
7. It raised the demand for a separate Ministry/Department for the welfare of the DNTs at the Centre and welfare departments at state and district levels.
8. It demanded a review of the Wild Life Protection, Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Environment Protections laws to sustain traditional livelihood of the DNT communities like the snake charmers, monkey players, Kalandars, bird catchers and people using plants for herbal medicines. Similarly protection of the pastoral lands for the pastoralist community was advised.
9. A review and change in the syllabus of the Police training centres and massive awareness program to sensitise both the police and public was recommended.
10. Suggestion for extension of the SC & ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 was suggested to safeguard DNTs from the anti-social elements. Along with that appointment of one member from the DNT community in the National and State level Human Rights Commission and one woman in the National and State Commission for Women was advised.
11. On the lines of the National Commission for SC and ST, it was advised to form a National Commission for the DNTs by amendment in the Constitution.
12. A Constitutional support to the DNTs on the same line as given to the SC and ST under Article 341 and Article 342 of the Constitution was advised. Similarly under the Article 330 & 332, they demanded reservation in the Parliament and Legislative Assembly of the States. Separate allocation of 10% funds from the MP Local Area Development Fund for the DNTs was advised. Similarly channelization of the CSR funds for the DNT welfare projects was suggested.
13. The Commission suggested for 'Right to Minimum Land Holding Act' for the Nomadic communities to allot at least one acre of cultivable land on nominal lease basis with assured irrigation on a non-transferable basis.
14. Regarding the reservation it was suggested that the DNT Communities be given 10% reservation in Government jobs even if the total reservation exceeds

50% as an integral part of the Affirmative Action programme for the socio-economic upliftment of these communities.

15. For career development it was suggested that the Central and State Governments/UTs may promote the setting up of a Community Service-cum-Information Centre for DNTs for guidance and counselling in the fields of education, health and employment.
16. Since the DNT communities are rich in their cultural heritage which need to be preserved, the recommendation for multicultural complex/Academy was made.
17. Further the Commission made an important recommendation regarding the distribution of the DNTs in the list of the SCs, STs and OBCs iniquitously in different states and districts. It, therefore strongly recommended that all such anomalies be identified and corrected to ensure that a caste/community is in the same list in all the states and also within the same State.

According to the Renke Commission Report, in 2008 there were nearly 1,500 nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes and 198 denotified tribes, comprising 15 crore Indians.

National Advisory Council (NAC) Recommendations, 2011

In addition to the NCDNT, the National Advisory Council (NAC) constituted a Working Group on Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes in 2011 which also proposed a detailed set of recommendations for the DNTs. These are broadly categorised into six categories as under:

- 1) **Administrative Actions:** This includes enumeration and classification of DNTs and other Nomadic Tribes, ensuring inclusion, issuing caste certificates and other identity cards; police sensitization and training; recognition of their forest and land rights.
- 2) **De-criminalization of the DNTs:** To carry out a vigorous national campaign to inform the DNT communities about their Constitutional rights as SC/ST/OBC and to inform the public that violence/discrimination against these communities and violations of their human rights is punishable under the law.
- 3) **Legislative Actions:** This includes the reviewing of the implementation of existing legislations for DNTs to protect them from the harassment of police

and against discrimination in application of these laws. Ensure that the safety, livelihoods and nomadic life style of DNT communities is not affected.

- 4) **Policy Inputs:** Development and establishment of a special dedicated Central Fund for the socio-economic empowerment of the DNTs in proportion of their population as per the caste census. The fund should also have due safeguards against diversion or non-utilization.
- 5) **Program/Schematic Strengthening and Targeting:** This refers to the set of new programmes needed to be designed and implemented for the DNTs, especially in respect of Education, Housing, Livelihood for skill development, Community Organization and Leadership Building with special focus on women's empowerment and Infrastructure development.
- 6) **For Institutional Arrangements the followings were suggested:**
 - a) Creation of an empowered Inter-Ministerial Standing Task Force (STF) for DNTs to be chaired by the Home Minister.
 - b) A senior officer not below the rank of Director in the Ministry of Home Affairs should be entrusted with the responsibility to coordinate with the state police agencies to ensure that the DNTs are protected from atrocities.
 - c) A senior officer not below the rank of Director in the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment should be entrusted with the responsibility to coordinate with the state social welfare departments to ensure effective implementation of special programmes designed for DNTs and to ensure effective coverage of the DNTs in the on-going developmental programmes.
 - d) At state level, an exclusive department shall be established for DNTs to monitor and coordinate with various departments for ensuring effective coverage of DNTs in all the developmental programmes. The department shall also ensure effective grievance redressal mechanisms.
 - e) **Representation:** At least one member in the National Human Rights Commission and the State Human Rights Commission should be drawn from the DNTs.

The Cabinet, in its meeting held on 30.1.2014 considered the recommendations of the NCDNT and NAC and decided upon them as under:⁹⁰

- (i) The establishment through an executive order, of a National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes for a period of three years to identify the castes of DNTs which have been included in the lists of SCs/STs/OBCs and the castes which have not been included in any of these categories and to suggest appropriate measures for their development.
- (ii) Framing of an appropriate scheme for grant of Pre-matric and Post-matric Scholarships and Construction of Hostels for students belonging to Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes not included in the lists of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes after following the requisite process including appraisal by the Expenditure Finance Committee.

Planning Commission Report, 2012

The Planning Commission recommended that the most effective way of extending developmental support for the DNTs would be to provide special and relevant support and facilities for these communities within the existing provisions for ST, SC and OBC categories. Access to scholarships and hostel facilities need to be given priority. The existing schemes for scholarships and hostel facilities need to be revised to extend their coverage to nomadic, semi-nomadic and de-notified tribes. The Commission report also stressed the importance of economic empowerment through capacity building programmes for skill development and loans for economic empowerment to be given priority.

The Planning Commission emphasised that the existing legislations such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989; Habitual Offenders Act, 1952; The Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 1959; Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1986; Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 and the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980; and Excise Law and so on need to be reviewed to ensure the dignity and livelihood of the DNTs.

A nation-wide survey of the DNT settlements needs to be conducted urgently. This could form the basis, inter alia, for introducing a suitable shelter programme for homeless DNTs. The skill development initiatives of the States and Central Government need to be given priority to cover the unemployed youth among the DNTs with a view to provide them employable skills. A suitable Action Plan for their rehabilitation as well as to meet the

⁹⁰ Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Govt. of India, date of decision: 30.1.2014.

infrastructure including basic amenities of their areas need to be prepared. The requirement of funds for the purpose will be met out of the proposed Cluster Development Fund. The Finance and Development Corporations under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment will be tasked to address the skill development of the DNTs.

Planning Commission suggested for an Integrated Infrastructure Development Programme which needs to be especially designed to provide basic amenities such as roads, schools, electricity, drinking water, community centres, and so on in the existing settlements of the DNTs.

National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes, 2014⁹¹

The Government of India constituted National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNT) vide Gazette Notification dated 12th February 2014, for a period of three years to prepare a State-wise list of castes belonging to Denotified and Nomadic Tribes and to suggest appropriate measures in respect of the DNTs that may be undertaken by the Central Government or the State Government. The Commission Chaired by Shri Bhiku Ramji Idate started its work from 9th January 2015 and submitted its report on 8th January 2018. The Commission recommended the setting up of a permanent Commission for these communities. But looking to the already existing commissions for SCs (National Commission for Scheduled Castes), STs (National Commission for Scheduled Tribes) and OBCs (National Commission for Backward Classes) the Government decided to set up a Development and Welfare Board under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 under the aegis of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment for the purpose of implementing development and welfare programmes for DNTs. The State-wise list of communities prepared by the Commission was not considered to be complete in the sense that with respect to some communities the Commission has stated in its report that this require further validation. Shri Idate, Chairman of the NCDNT Commission stated in his introductory remarks that, 'The Commission has faced a lot of difficulties, including the denial of the required funds, for carrying out the socio-economic survey of these communities.'

The Idate Commission observed many problems among the DNTs during their visit to around 300 habitations, consultation with NGOs, social scientists and government organizations. They came up with the following conclusion and recommendations:

- 1) Appointment of a Permanent Commission for the DNTs with a prominent leader of the communities as its Chairperson, an IAS officer of the rank of

⁹¹ Posted On: 19 FEB 2019 8:57PM by PIB Delhi.

Secretary/Addl. Secretary to the Govt. of India as Secretary, along with the subject experts as its members.

- 2) Set up of a separate Department or Directorate at the State level headed by an IAS officer.
- 3) Rationalization of uniform classifications of the DNTs spread in different states.
- 4) Caste based census for proper enumeration of population of the DNTs.
- 5) Nomination of public representatives by the President to Rajya Sabha and by the Governor to the Legislative Assembly. And by the District Collector to the District Panchayat and Intermediate Panchayats where the population of the DNTs is significant.
- 6) Strong legal and Constitutional protection by extending the Protection of Atrocities Act to the DNTs communities by creating a separate Third schedule as 'Schedule of De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes.'
- 7) Creation of sub-quota for the DNTs within the SC/ST/OBC category to avail reservation benefits instead of being 'crowded out' by the relatively better communities.
- 8) Classification and uniform listing of the DNT communities across the different states and UTs. Inclusion of those who are left out.
- 9) Special drive for issue of citizenship documents, caste certificates, domicile certificates, BPL cards and other cards by relaxing the rules after due enquiry from the revenue or panchayat authority.
- 10) Destigmatisation and protection from harassment - for this recommendation has been made to carry objective study of the DNTs.
- 11) Removal of the Habitual Offenders Act. Creation of right awareness regarding the DNTs among the government officials and society to create empathy towards them. Sponsorship of researchers through UGC and ICSSR.
- 12) Sensitization of the Civil Servants and Police Officials. Suitable changes in the curriculum/training manual of the Police Training centres.
- 13) Inclusion of chapter on the DNTs in the NCERT and State Board books.

- 14) DNT/NT cell in NHRC, SHRCs to sensitize these organizations.
- 15) Institution of a working group in NITI Aayog to work for SDGs. Monitoring of schemes meant for the DNTs under the SC/ST/OBC schemes.
- 16) Provision for Grant-in-aid of Rs. 10,000 Crore to the States in the 15th Finance Commission.
- 17) Appointment of 'Community Contact Persons' (CCPs) to develop community leadership at the grassroot level.
- 18) Set up mobile schools, new elementary schools in areas of large habitation of the DNTs and relaxation in the admission procedure. Exemption of tuition fees upto Class XII, free study material and coaching and focus on girl's education.
- 19) Appropriate skill development programs, adult education, opening of community libraries, vocational training centres, etc.
- 20) Improvement of the health facilities for the DNTs, provision for mobile health dispensaries.
- 21) Provision for housing, sanitation, electricity, roads, etc. and their upgradation.
- 22) Forest rights, grazing rights, and passage rights for the nomadic pastoralists across the state boundaries.
- 23) Skill development and employment through MGNREGA, District Industries Centres (DICs) and Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC), facilitate job placements of the DNT youth, use of traditional medicine knowledge, financial inclusion under the Jan Dhan Scheme, recognition of traditional skills, etc.
- 24) Set up of separate National Finance and Development Corporation for DNTs on the line of that made for the SCs.
- 25) Special focus on women by the National Commission of Women, provision for loans and training for asset building, etc.
- 26) Set up of a separate Academy for preservation of Art, Cultural Heritage and Handicrafts of the DNTs.

The Report along with various recommendations made by the Commission was submitted to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in December 2017. It listed 1658 DNT

communities for a population of 15 crore. Where Renke commission demanded 10% reservation according to their population the Idate Commission suggested to carve out sub-quotas within the existing reservation policy. Taking a view of the report, on 1st February 2019, during the Budget presentation, the NDA Government announced the formation of a welfare development board to frame 'special strategies for the benefit of the hard-to-reach denotified, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.'⁹²

In May 2018, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment wrote to the NITI Aayog, asking for its stand on the report of the Bhiku Ramji Idate Commission on DNT, SNT, and NT communities. In response to this NITI Aayog offered to set up a working group to come up with policy suggestions on issues related to the most deprived communities. It supports the suggestion of the Idate Commission to form a dedicated National Finance Development Corporation for DNT, SNT and NT communities. Along with that it also supported the suggestion of lowering tuition fees and relaxing admission conditions for children from the DNT communities, and easy allotment of land and housing for members of the community in which 90% or more are landless.

Development and Welfare Board for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes, 2019.

In accordance of the Gazette Notification dated 21.02.2019 the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment constituted a Development and Welfare Board for the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities.⁹³ In reference to the above notification the Central Government appointed the following persons for the posts of Chairman and Members:

- (1) Shri Bhiku Ramji Idate - Chairman
- (2) Ms. Mittal Patel - Member
- (3) Shri Otaram Dewasi - Member

The tenure of the aforesaid Chairman and the Members was decided to be three years extendable to five years from the date of assumption of charge by them.⁹⁴ The terms of reference of the Development and Welfare Board for the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities are as under:⁹⁵

⁹² Smriti Kak Ramachandran, Hindustan Times, New Delhi 16 June 2019.

⁹³ Gazette of India Extraordinary Part-II, Section-3, Sub-Section (ii), No. 808 dated 21 February, 2019.

⁹⁴ F. No. 16014/04/2018-BC-III of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Govt. of India.

⁹⁵ Gazette Notification, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, New Delhi, F. No. 16014/04/2018-BC-III, 21st February, 2019.

- 1) To formulate and implement Welfare and Development programmes, as required, for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities.
- 2) To identify the locations/areas where these communities are densely populated.
- 3) To assess and identify gaps in accessing existing programmes and entitlements and to collaborate with Ministries/implementing agencies to ensure that ongoing programmes meet the special requirements of Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities.
- 4) To monitor and evaluate the progress of the schemes of Government of India and the States/UTs with reference to Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities.
- 5) Any other related work as may be assigned by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

Niti Aayog Committee on DNTs⁹⁶

As stated above, to review the Idate Commission Report a committee was set up by the NITI Aayog to complete the process of identification of the De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities (DNCs). The survey work of identification of DNT Communities and placing them in a category of SC/ST/OBC is also under process in NITI Aayog and Anthropological Survey of India (AnSI).⁹⁷ Also, the Department has approved a special scheme namely 'Scheme for Economic Empowerment of DNT Communities (SEED)' for welfare of these communities having following four components:

- a) To provide coaching of good quality for DNT candidates to enable them to appear in competitive examinations.
- b) To provide Health Insurance to them.
- c) To facilitate livelihood initiative at community level; and
- d) To provide financial assistance for construction of houses for members of these communities.

⁹⁶ Press Information Bureau, 1st February 2019, 13:12 IST

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27th July 2021, 1:52 PM

While presenting the Interim Budget 2019-20 in Parliament, the Union Minister for Finance, Corporate Affairs, Railways and Coal, Shri Piyush Goyal acknowledged that the Government will set-up a Welfare and Development Board under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment specifically for the purpose of implementing welfare and development programmes for De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic communities. The Board shall ensure that special strategies are designed and implemented to serve these hard-to-reach communities.⁹⁸

Shri Goyal said that, 'the Government is committed to reach the most deprived citizens of this country. To this end, the condition of the De-notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic communities merits special attention. These communities are hard to reach, less visible, and therefore, frequently left-out. The Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic communities move from place to place in search of a livelihood. The Renke Commission and the Idate Commission have done commendable work to identify and list these communities'.⁹⁹

In the Union Budget of 2020-21, presented by Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman it was hoped that following the previous budget presented by Shri Piyush Goyal, the DNTs will receive a special attention as they were completing 150 years of criminalization under the Criminal Tribe Act-1871. On 1st February, 2020 when the speech was made, all hopes deflated. The subsequent budgetary allocations have been relatively low. It is significant to note that, the actual expenditure for each year has been below the budgetary allocation, showing the inability of DNTs to avail of funds and resources meant for them. Allocation for the Welfare and Development Board created in 2019 was slightly increased to Rs 1.24 crore in 2020-21 from Rs 0.40 crore in 2019-20.¹⁰⁰ This is a meagre amount to cover 15 crore population of the DNTs.

Current Situation

Based on recommendations of the Renke Commission, a few DNT Welfare Boards and Corporations were constituted in some of the states. Among the three states under study they exist in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Budgetary allocations were made but not much has been done. The DNT, NT & SNT Welfare Board¹⁰¹ in Rajasthan has functioned without any

⁹⁸ See [https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/doc/bspeech/bs201920\(I\).pdf](https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/doc/bspeech/bs201920(I).pdf) at Para 38.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Mayank Sinha, Tarini Shipurkar, "Union Budget 2020-21: Denotified, Nomadic, Semi-nomadic Tribes left out once again - Hopes that soared after Piyush Goyal's mention last year lie deflated". Down to Earth, 2nd February 2020. See <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/governance/union-budget-2020-21-denotified-nomadic-semi-nomadic-tribes-left-out-once-again-69110>

¹⁰¹ The Department of Social Justice and Empowerment on date 13th Nov. 2013 (see notification no. F 11(55)(1) R&P/SJE/12/80361 dated 13.11.2012 of Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Govt. of Rajasthan) for the DNT, NT & SNT Welfare Board in Rajasthan. Shri Gopal Keshawat was appointed its first Chairman and given the power of Minister of States (MOS).

budget so far through the last three Assemblies of Congress (two time) and BJP (one time) governments. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan Shri Ashok Gehlot in his Budget speech of 2021-22 announced that, 'the Denotified Tribe (DNT) Policy to be implemented for the upliftment of the deprived, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities, under which¹⁰² -

- a) A Rs. 50 crore funds will be set up for the development of DNTs.
- b) DNT Research and Preservation Centre will be set up with an amount of Rs. 5 Crore for their traditional arts and enterprise.'

In Gujarat, instead of the welfare board, the Govt. of Gujarat formed the Gujarat Nomadic and Denotified Tribes Development Corporation on 14th August 2015. It is classified as a State Govt. company which is involved in business activities and is authorised to provide loans to the DNTs in Gujarat.

In Madhya Pradesh the subject of the DNTs is looked after by the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribal Department which was formed on 22nd June 2011. It is looked by the Aadim Jati Kalyan Vibhag. The department provides scholarships, hostel facilities, housing facilities, issue of caste certificates, economic welfare schemes for self-employment, and some incentives for development works.

Apart from the Centre and State Governments, some of the social organizations like Praxis, Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Bhudhan Theatre, Wada Na Todo Abhiyan, National Alliance Group for the DNTs, etc. including some community based organizations (CBOs) are active in raising the issues of these communities. They are trying to establish a network of the DNTs and to help them with legal rights, livelihood, education, health, etc. in a proactive manner.

Bhasha's Participation in the DNT Movement

Prof. Ganesh Devy, founder of Bhasha Research and Publication Centre spear headed the DNT movement with Mahasweta Devi starting from 1998 and actively represented the issues of the DNT communities to various committees and commissions. Following is a chronological list of its various activities organized for voicing the concern of the DNTs:

Date/year	Activity
12th March 1998	Rights Action Group formed on 12th March 1998 at Tejgadh, with Mahasweta Devi as President and G N Devy as Secretary.

¹⁰² Budget 2021-22 speech of Para 116.

May 1998	Petition submitted to National Human Rights Commission -- admitted by Justice M N Venkatachalaiah, Chairman, NHRC, drafted by Adv. Rajiv Dhavan
May 1998	Budhan Magazine was launched by Bhasha Centre, with Dr. G N Devy as its Editor
August 1998	First National Conference of DNTs held at Chharanagar, Ahmedabad -- Romla Thapar, Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak (Columbia University) and Justice D K Basu, former Chief Justice of Kolkata High Court as Chief Guests -- the first performance of Budhan play at this conference, leading to formation of the Budhan Theatre.
August 1998 to February 1999	Nation-wide touring by Mahasweta Devi and Dr. G N Devy
March 1999	Kaleshwari Mela in Panchamahals was launched (which continued till 2018)
April 1999	DNT Convention at Bhopal's Museum of Man -- with Sitakanta Mahapatra, IAS as chief guest. Dr. K. K Chakravarty joined the movement. Former Director of Anthropological survey of India Dr. K S Singh was present and joined the movement.
February 2000	Meetings with L K Advani, Home Minister and Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister -- facilitated by Mr. George Fernandes, Defence Minister, GoI.
April 2000	International Labour Organisation, the ILO (of the UN) commissioned the First Comprehensive Report on DNTs. Bhasha completed and submitted it.
From 2000 to 2005	A series of consultations, meetings and conference in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, West Bengal and Delhi
2005	National DNT and Adivasi Convention, attended by 800 artists and over 6000 participants. In a week's time, Dr. Manmohan Singh appointed National Commission, with Mr. Balkrishna Renke as Chairman
November 2006	The Technical advisory Group was appointed by the Ministry of Social Justice
March 2007	TAG Report was submitted to the Commission and the Ministry.

	G. N. Devy withdrew himself from the movement after completion of the TAG Report.
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SOCIO-CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DENOTIFIED AND NOMADIC TRIBES UNDER STUDY

The misunderstanding of the cultural background of the Denotified and Nomadic Tribes by the British Empire led to the listing of them as Criminal Tribes. Being suspicious about their occupations, their wandering nature and threat to their economic developments, they were brought under the purview of legislature of the Indian Penal Code (1860), Criminal Tribe Act (1871), Indian Forest Act (1878), etc. Right from the rule of the East India Company in India from 1757 AD to the takeover by the Colonial Empire in 1858 AD and later even after Independence these communities were never properly enumerated or studied from the cultural and historical perspective. Thus, their role in contribution to the society remained unrecorded. The anthropological studies which described some of these communities are insufficient. Moreover, in the present academic discourse they are still looked at through the colonial mindset. For example, Dr. D.N. Mazumdar, Professor of Anthropology in the Lucknow University who made a detailed study of the Criminal Tribes during the Colonial rule was of the opinion that Criminality is not inherited and that many of the Criminal Tribes originated from Rajputs and that ethnologically they do not belong to a separate race. If this has been the case, then caste untouchability should have not originated for those who belonged to a sub-race of the Rajput clans. Untouchability proved oppressive which was later dealt with under the Constitution. The present study shows that it still prevails in the rural areas.

Police continue to look at these communities as criminals. Even after 150 years of CTA enactment and 70 years of its repeal, not much has changed. This report also states examples of caste discrimination, marginalization, lack of citizenship rights, illiteracy, unemployment, health problems, poverty, and stigmatization. The enforcement of various laws (particularly Habitual Offenders Act) has snatched their traditional livelihoods changing their cultural

and historical identities. Being devoid of their skills and indigenous knowledge they are compelled to do unskilled labour works. Most of them have been uprooted from their natural habitats, forcing them to live in urban slums in unhygienic conditions.

This chapter is an attempt to voice the true identities of these communities and give a rational perspective to them. Sufficient written records are not available regarding their cultural history therefore the information featured here is derived from the oral narratives. The spread of the community into various *khanps*, *gotras* and regional distinctions makes the subject of their caste identities complicated. Over the years many among these communities have merged their caste identities with those of the dominant ones to escape from the wrath of caste discrimination and stigma of professional identity. Communities like *Bedia*, *Bachhada*, *Sansi*, *Nat* and *Kanjar* have started using their *gotra* as surnames to hide their castes. Since most of these *gotra* surnames match with those of the Rajputs they are able to disguise themselves. But this has loosened their political strength, unity and dominance. Their visibility is not asserted prominently enough to influence the government policy makers. Moreover, after being suppressed over the years due to their caste, they feel ashamed to disclose their caste names. Thus, a true enumeration and study of their culture in the present context is almost impossible for the outsiders and the government.

This chapter has tried to gather information regarding the cultural history of the DNT communities from various literary sources and from the community's personal oral narratives. It also represents how the community look at themselves through the history of their oppression.

The distinct culture of these tribes is shown by the fact that instead of cremating the dead body they bury them because the first sign of burial in India are found from ten thousand years ago. Different rituals are organized to keep the departed soul of their ancestors at peace. Their memorial stones are installed and worshiped regularly on auspicious occasions. Their relationship with domesticated animals which were their mode of travel is still evident in the remnants of their culture. They are bearers of the indigenous knowledge which has sustained their life and livelihood. Below are short accounts of them:

1. Bachhada

According to the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949-1950) chaired by Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Bachhada were listed under the Criminal Tribe Act due to their indulgence in the cases of kidnapping of girls and cattle-lifting. The report further says that they inhabited Rajputana and Central India and are notified as a Criminal Tribe in Dhar, Sitamau, Dewas and Indore in Madhya Bharat (see Annexure 1.2). The community is said to claim their origin from the Rajputs. The Ayyangar report makes a confusing statement

that both Bachhada and Bedia are the same communities - it says that, 'in north part of Gwalior, they are known as Bedia while in southern part they are called Bachhada'. But in the present time, the community totally disregards this fact. The report further says that, 'They are said to have adopted prostitution as a means of livelihood instead of violent crimes against property and person'.¹⁰³

Whereas according to the community's narrative, their girls were used by the princely states to spy upon the rivals in which the young girls were forced to offer themselves for pleasure to draw the information. Later this became a practice for their livelihood. They were kept and maintained in accommodation by the rich landlords.

According to the interview with Jagna (age 80 years) of village Dodiya Meena near Mandsaur in MP, earlier his Bachhada community used to move around on donkeys and male buffaloes and beg in villages for food. Later they settled in villages. Jagna's parents settled at the present place 78 years ago when he was only 2 years old. They were allotted land by the Dalu Patel (Meena headman) of the village to practice agriculture. The Patel was also responsible under the Criminal Tribes Act for taking their attendance and rehabilitation. That time they had to seek passes to visit any place. For any theft or crime, they were put into jails. Mostly these thefts were related to stealing of crops like corn to feed their hunger. They lived in the open and during monsoon made huts of *jhunjhali* grass and *amal* (opium) stalks to cover themselves. Their main deities are among their ancestors. They worship Sheetal Mata (see Image-1) to save themselves from smallpox and Joganiya Mata as mother goddesses.

At Dodiya Meena village, initially only two families came to settle, viz. of maternal uncle and Jagna's parents. They now number around 50 houses. According to him, prostitution is a very old practice in the Bachhada community, but presently it has increased with the involvement of many girls in the trade. But the Bachhada families of Dodiya Meena village have resolved to remain away from it. Their girls have been educated and married in their own community. To earn a livelihood, they cultivate Soyabean on their lands in the monsoon, and work in stone crusher plants in the region. The financial condition of the Bachhada community living in Dodiya Meena village is fairly good.

But this is not the case for the community living on the Mandsaur-Nimach-Ratlam Highway where the fate of all the women is prostitution. According to media reports the birth of a girl child is considered auspicious as it means a breadwinner for the family. Her father and brothers end up becoming pimps and living off her earnings. The Times of India report says Girls are turned into prostitutes by their parents when they are between 12 and 14 years

¹⁰³ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 12.

old.¹⁰⁴ The report further says that earlier the women from the tribe would grow up to become respected courtesans. But the same respect is not given to women in the sex trade anymore.



Image-1: Bachhada community members worshipping Sheetala Mata, their main mother goddess. Village Kadi Antari, district Neemach of Madhya Pradesh.

The survey report at some of the locations state, that the sex ratio of females is more than the males. The Times of India report states that, 'The total population of the Bachhada community, which is spread over 75 villages in the three districts, is about 23,000, of which at least 65 per cent are women'.¹⁰⁵ The community majorly lives in rural areas along the highways in easy reach of the customers. Due to this practice the community's image is tarnished and they are looked down upon by the others. Thus, the community is compelled to hide their identity, those male members who seek jobs and migrate to the cities, change their surnames. For the medical facilities they attend private hospitals instead of the government ones. Presence of around 15% HIV cases among the Bachhada population has been noted in various reports.

¹⁰⁴ Shweta Sengar, 'In Banchhada Community Of Madhya Pradesh, Daughters & Sisters Are Turned Into Prostitutes For Money', Times of India, 19th March 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Men from the Bachhada community are involved in making illicit liquor leading to criminal cases against them under the Madhya Pradesh Excise Act 1915, Section 34 (2). Those Bachhada families who have land practice agriculture but many among them are also into thefts which is an extra source of income for them. In the Bachhada community *Jati Panchayat* is a problem. Settlements after marriage alliances break down tend to favour the male's side and charge fines from the girl's side. This is due to the fact that bride price is a custom in the community. Thus when a dispute arises it has to be returned along with all the marriage expenses. Members of the Panchayat also charge their commission for a settlement which leads to heavy debts.

2. Bedia

At the time of Independence, the Bedia were notified as a Criminal Tribe in West Bengal, Punjab, Vindhya Pradesh and parts of Uttar Pradesh. Sir Risley has mentioned them as a generic name of a number of vagrant gypsy like groups, such as Babajiva Bazigar, Kabutri, Mal, Mir Sikar, etc.¹⁰⁶ He further mentions that they are reported to be descendants of the Pindharis of the Province of Bombay and Madras. The Bedia of Bengal differ from that of the Central India who link their roots in Bharatpur territory¹⁰⁷. Russel and Hira Lal have identified Beria (Bedia) as 'vagabond gypsy' describing the Beria women as professional prostitutes while men commit crime. But at the time of Independence their dependency is shown only on prostitution.¹⁰⁸ According to them they are closely related to crime. Their symmetrical features resemble those of the gypsies of Europe. They were expert in laying traps and used to keep the dried bodies of a variety of birds for medicinal purposes. The Bedia women are also recognized to be fortune tellers. They were good at tattooing and cupping with buffalo horns to extract worms. The word 'Berni' is an equivalent term for a prostitute and considered to be derogatory in the present time.

Among the Bedia, at one time, marriage within the community was not allowed. According to Mr. Crooke, if a man marries a girl of the tribe, he was put out of caste or obliged to pay a fine to the tribal council. Thus, men had to seek girls from the Nat or Kanjar tribes. The situation is similar with the Bachhada community in the present time who seek girls from the Kanjar community of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

¹⁰⁶ H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol.-I, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891, pg. 83.

¹⁰⁷ Some generations ago two brothers resided in the Bharatpur territory, one was named Sains Mul and another one was Mallanur. The descendants of Sains Mul are the Sansias and those of Mullanur the Berias or Kolhatis. They are vagrants and robbers by hereditary profession, living in tents or huts. The Kolhatis live in Deccan named after the *Kolhan* or long pole with which they perform acrobatic feats. (Russel and Hira Lal).

¹⁰⁸ R.V. Russel and Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *Tribes and castes of the Central Provinces in India*, Vol. I, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1916, pg. 348.

The major deities of the Bedia are their own ancestors who are worshiped on the day of their death anniversary. They also worship their mother goddess Kali. Women are regarded as head of the family and property is equally divided among her daughters and sons. Bedia women are known for their popular dance called Rai which is generally performed at night before the patrons. They receive money and gifts in exchange. In the present time various Bedia groups of Madhya Pradesh are commissioned to attend the marriage parties (*baraat*) where they dance to entertain the guests. Similarly, the Kanjar women of Chachoda village in Baran district of Rajasthan are also in demand by their patrons living on the Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh border areas to entertain their guests in marriages. Bedia women are also taken to the important religious fair of Kareela Mata which happens annually on a hillock near Ashok Nagar in Madhya Pradesh. Against the wish fulfillment for birth of a son, the patron has to customarily bring Bedia women on the day of *Rangpanchmi* (March-April) to make them dance in the premises of Luv-Kush and Janki (Sita) temple situated on the hill. After completing the obligations, the Bedia women and their accompanists are brought to the Mela grounds where they dance throughout the night till early morning on devotional and entertainment songs. It is the responsibility of the villagers to take care of the security of these women thus they form a circle and manage the crowd by holding a rope and controlling people with sticks.



Image-2: Bedia women dancing at Kareela Mata Fair, Ashok Nagar, Madhya Pradesh

One of the Rai songs, sung in service of the Kareela Mata is as under:

नचत है नचनारी-3 सो मइया करीला के द्वार-3
जग जाहिर है मेला करीला के-2 जग जाहिर है
उठ रई प्यारी धूल-4 हे ठुमका लगा रही नचनारी-4
मइया करीला बारी हमारो लै गई लौ हमारी
मोहे प्यारी लगे-2 सिंह पे सवारी दुर्गा की

The song illustrates the faith of Bedia women dancers in the Kareela Mata (Sita). It says that 'they dance at the steps of Kareela Mata temple. The Kareela fair is popular across the world. With our (Bedia women) dance movements, the dust from the ground rises in the air. With that our wishes get fulfilled by Kareela Mata. You look elegant sitting on a tiger, O! dear Durga.'

Mr. Crooke has mentioned that Bedia seldom built houses and practice agriculture. They are known for their patriotism, no Bedia has ever been known to denounce his race. If a Bedia is caught by the police, his clansmen do their best to release him. If they are imprisoned or die, the clansmen support his family. The family matters are resolved by their chief called *sardars* in the tribal council (*panchayat*). The chief of the *Panchayat* is hereditary.

According to a popular folklore, Bedia believe themselves to be Rajputs. They were forced into the present tradition of thefts and prostitution by the Muhammadan invaders after the siege of Chittorgarh Fort in Rajasthan. But their physical build resembles that of the Sansi and Indian gypsy race. When they take an oath, they swear by Mother Ganga. In the Census of 1891, their population in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was around 15,313 persons.¹⁰⁹ One of the anecdotes about settlement of the Bedia community in village Kolua surveyed in this study is as under:

According to Manoj Chhari of village Kolua in Dholpur district, their community adopted the profession of dance and entertainment from the Muslim community.¹¹⁰ They roamed around the villages of their patrons during the festivals of Holi and Diwali to entertain them and receive gifts and alms. This led to the development of a distinct dance form recognized as Rai Dance (see Image-2) attached to the Bedia in parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The Bedia community of village Kolua is descended from one of their ancestors Geetam Singh, whose sister (great maternal aunt of the present generation) came for Rai dance to the village Kolua. This was around hundred and twenty-five years ago. She was kept by Thakur Fathe Singh Tyagi (chief of the village) of Kolua. The Thakur gave her land and

¹⁰⁹ W. Crooke, *Tribes And Castes Of North Western Provinces And Oudh*, Vol 1, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1896. pg. 247.

¹¹⁰ Known as Kacche Musalman (Dholia, Ghatia and Madhiya) who have a practice of crimation.

financial aid to settle down in his village. Since then, Bedia have been living in this village. Their men took to agriculture, and daughters moved to Delhi and Mumbai to work in prostitution. The financial status of the community is fair, and they work together with other villagers who are in one sense their brothers, for being descendants from the same person i.e. Fathe Singh Tyagi. The Bedia community of Kolua got the title of 'Chaudhary', because Geetam Singh was a wise and intelligent man who was invited in *Jati Panchayats* of all the nearby communities to resolve their disputes. Similarly his son was also regarded after Geetam Singh's death.



Image-3: *Chatri* (memorial) of Geetam Singh, whose sister was settled in village Kolua by Thakur Fathe Singh Tyagi. Bedia community build memorial of their ancestors, elaborate *chatri* are made for men while raised platforms are made for the women.

On being asked about their profession of prostitution, the community points out that, 'there have been women entertainers since ancient times and why only the image of the Bedia community is defamed and targeted?' During the rule of R.R. Patil, Home Minister of Maharashtra, dance bars in Mumbai were banned in 2005. Communities like Bedia were affected the most. Many of their women returned to their homes in villages. In January 2019, the Supreme Court allowed the reopening of the Dance Bars with certain regulations. The ban forced the community to look out for other options for livelihood. The present generation is getting educated and employed. Girls are getting married. In terms of atrocities, there are not many police cases in Bedia villages as their women work in cities.

At present the economic condition of the Bedia community is better than the other DNTs communities studied under this survey. Many families among them from Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have migrated to cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kanpur, Nagpur, etc. The young generation is attending schools, marriages are being conducted within the community, parents are not forcing their girls to enter prostitution. To live a respectable life youth is

finding better job opportunities. A large section of the male youth is employed in taxi driving in Mumbai. The challenges that the community faces today is their reputation for being involved with prostitution which leads to various kinds of discrimination in schools, at health facilities and in the neighbourhood with other communities. Thus, like the Bachhada the community is compelled to hide their identity by choosing their clan (*gotra*) names as surnames instead of that of the community surnames.

3. Gadia Luhar

Luhar relates to the profession of blacksmith. It refers to the artisans who work in iron tool making. Various sub-castes of Luhar involved in different stages of iron smelting and tool making are found across India, for example the Agariya from Deccan region. Apart from the Hindu Luhars there are Multani Muslim Luhars also who came with the Mughals. The study of Luhar over here only deals with one section of the Luhars who relate themselves with the Rajput ruler of Chittor in Rajasthan, Maharana Pratap (1540 – 1597). Thus, they are mainly from the Mewar region who later spread to north and western India. Most of their clan names are derived from the Rajput castes. They profess their origin from the Rajputs, but this is clearly not established. The community claims that when Maharana Pratap lost his battle to the Mughals in 1576 AD and managed to retreat in the hills with the help of Bhil archers, the Gadia Luhar swore that they would wander around and not settle at one place until Pratap gains his throne back. Pratap never regained his throne and since then the community has wandered around for their livelihood by making and selling iron tools. According to the oral narratives, they used to make spears, bow arrows and swords for the Maharana Pratap's army. According to the British gazette and census reports, they were spread in the Punjab and North West provinces. As described by W. Crooke, 'In Punjab they (Gadia Luhar) travel about with their families and implements in carts from village to village, doing a finer kind of iron-work which are beyond the capacity of the village artisan'.¹¹¹ Their excellence at making iron tools is highly recognized. Gadia Luhar are also good breeders of cows. Since they move from village to village they buy and sell cows and bullocks. They take them to the village fairs to do business out of it.

Gadia Luhar move around villages following a fixed seasonal route servicing the agriculture communities, making tools for farming. Apart from that they also made tools for carpenters, weavers, and other craftsmen. Since they move in small carts, they acquired the prefix 'Gadia' i.e. cart. The reason for their wandering nature, and the legendary vow not to settle down is clearly put in the inscription in Picture 25. Later with the efforts of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru they started settling down (see Picture 24). Unlike the other nomadic communities Gadia Luhar were never categorized as criminal tribes. They are popular as nomadic

¹¹¹ W. Crooke, *op. cit.*, pg. 373.

communities in the three states under study. The community is peace loving with no criminal records of any kind. Only disputes in family matters happen which are resolved by the community leaders internally in their caste Panchayats. Unlike the other *Jati Panchayats* of the communities like Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar; that of the Gadia Luhar is not of an exploitative nature.



Image-4: Gadia Luhar family on move in search of work in their bullock carts. Village Devli near Uniara District Tonk, Rajasthan.

Gadia Luhar is one such community whose presence can be found across the villages of Rajasthan and in other states of north and western India. Since the last two to three decades, they have started settling down in urban areas to find new livelihood options. Their indigenous iron smelting work is coming to an end due to introduction of readymade machine tools at cheaper rates. Some members of the community are still attached with their traditional profession of iron-work and nomadic way of life. That is the reason that we still find them camped around the towns and villages to earn their livelihood. Comparative to other DNTs, Gadia Luhar families have been allotted residential lands by the government at many places to settle them under the schemes specially designed for them. But practically the locations of these residential plots are remote. Every day, they have to return to the main centres of the cities to find work. The young children at home are taken care of by the elders and grown-up children. Girls generally cook food and take care of household work. Thus

they do not get an opportunity to attend schools. The boys roam around or work with their parents.

Child marriage is common among the Gadia Luhar community. Because of this at a later stage, marriage breakups happen. Such matters are resolved in the Panchayat which amounts to a huge expenditure. Bride price is paid in marriages. The community is socio-economically backward due to which their status of literacy is very poor which is also reflected in the survey.

4. Kalbelia

Apart from the Gadia Luhar community listed above, Kalbelia is another nomadic community which is surveyed across the three states under study. The community worships Shiva and are recognized as snake-charmers (Sapera, for keeping black cobra) and medicine-men. As the name suggest, *Kal* (death) stands for risk taking attempt which signifies Kalbelia's profession of playing with the cobra. Once they used to trade in snake venom.

Looking to the ethnic origin of the Kalbelia, Nath is a sub-tradition within Shaivism, who trace their lineage to nine Nath Gurus, starting with Shiva or 'Adinatha' as the first. The legendary folklore as narrated by Babunath Madari of Kotambha of Gujarat is as under:

At one-time there were nine Gurus of the Nath Sect (Shiva being supreme among them). They miraculously originated from Shiva - this story goes like this that a demon named Bhainsasur resolved to kill Shiva. To get the attention of Parvati he disguised himself as a child of twelve years and started crying. He pleaded before Parvati to keep him as a cowman and promised her that he would graze Shiva's bull Nandi. But Shiva declined the offer. Parvati being humble to the child's plight kept him at home and authorised him to take the bull every day for grazing. But instead of grazing, Bhainsasur would take it to the ground and tie its rope to a stump. Being hungry, the Nadia started losing weight. To hide his mistake, Bhainsasur made a false complaint that he was beaten by the fellow cowman. Parvati requested Shiva to give his *gota* (mace) to Bhainsasur to take revenge and to thrash the cowman. Next day he again went to the ground with Nadia and returned with another complaint that he was again beaten by the cowman with sticks. To overcome the cowman, Parvati requested Shiva to give his *pawan-pawadi* (flying footwear). Taking them, she instructed Bhainsasur to go and take revenge and then fly back wearing the *pawan-pawadi*. In the evening Bhainsasur returned home and repeated the complaint that he was again beaten with sticks. Finally, Bhainsasur asked for Shiva's *bhashma-kangan* (bracelets having power to turn anyone into ashes) to teach a lesson to the cowman. Parvati took them from Shiva and gave them to Bhainsasur.

Having taken all the power from Shiva, Bhainsasur claimed that now Parvati belonged to him. He chased Shiva to kill him. Shiva disguised himself as a serpent and hid himself in the Banyan tree. Parvati also ran away to save herself. When Vishnu discovered that Shiva and Parvati were in trouble he arrived on earth. He turned himself into a form of Parvati that was a hundred times more alluring than she and settled down in the hut where Shiva and Parvati lived together. Bhainsasur disguised as Shiva arrived at the hut. Parvati (Vishnu) objected that he (Bhainsasur) did not appear

to be her husband Shiva. To settle her doubts Bhainsasur played *damru* (two-headed drum instrument of Shiva) and started dancing. Parvati pointed out that Shiva never danced like that. She demonstrated how Shiva danced by moving her hands over her head. In an attempt to copy Parvati, he forgot that he was wearing the *bhashma-kangan*. As Bhainsasur moved his hands over his head, he turned into ashes. Vishnu collected the *kangan* and called Shiva to come out of hiding. He returned the *kangan* to Shiva who was hiding up the tree as a snake.

After returning to his original form, Shiva questioned Vishnu how he reclaimed his *kangan*. Vishnu asked Shiva to close his eyes for a moment. As Shiva closed his eyes, Vishnu turned himself into Parvati highlighting her beauty hundred times greater than before. Seeing the beauty, Shiva ejaculated in excitement. He had to immediately hold the semen in his hands because it could have destroyed the earth; apart from Parvati no one else could hold it. To dispose it off safely he cut a bamboo and in its hollow node he deposited the fluid and closed its mouth. Disposing of the bamboo safely, he went to wash his hands in the river. The remain of the semen on his hands was washed off into the water. When the fish ate it, Machandar Nath (from *machli*, i.e. fish) was born. Similarly, from the water Jalandar Nath (from *jal*, i.e. water) was born and when it got mixed with *gobar* (dung), Gorakh Nath was born. Likewise, eight Nath were born.¹¹²

The Nath (Guru) of Kalbelia (or Sopera) community is Kanipav Nath. He is said to have been born from the ear of an elephant. His Guru was Jalandar Nath who originated from the water. Kanipav (Kanipa + Pav) got his name because his knowledge was quarter (*pav*) times greater than the rest of the Nath. He is said to have the power to digest snake venom. Due to this, the other eight Nath separated from him being jealous of his power. Since then, the Kalbelia started living nomadic way of life following their Guru Kanipav Nath's lifestyle. His Samadhi is said to be at Ahmednagar in Maharashtra which is visited by the Kalbelia community every year.

The above story bears a historical reference to how the Jogi identify themselves differently from the Kalbelia though they both are followers of the Nath Sect. From Gorakhnath, the Jogi musician community originated who stand on top of the caste hierarchy while the Kalbelia are an offshoot of Kanipav Nath who separated from the Jogi on the above mentioned instance. Since then, the Kalbelia community started living a wandering life earning out of snake-charming and entertaining people through their dance and songs. Their women dance to the music of *been* (twin flutes, also called *poongi*). Earlier their performance was limited to the festivals and marriages of their patrons but later it became part of stage performances. Few samples of the Kalbelia songs are as under:

कालयो कूद पड्यो मेले में, साईकल पंक्चर कर ल्यायो SS

The initial line of this song captures the modernity of Kalbelia life when cycle was just introduced - that Kalyo (young boy with dark complexion) goes to visit the fair in excitement and returns home with a punctured bicycle. Similarly, another important song of the community is:

¹¹² Apart from the *Adiguru* (Shiva), the eight Nath of the Kalbelia community are Matsyendra, Goraksga, Jalandhar, Kanhapa, Caurangi, Carpath, Bharthrihari, Gopichand, Ravannath, Dharamnath and Masthant.

शंकरिया मामा निंबोली खिला दे रे SS
नीम की निंबोली मामा, खट्टी-मीठी लागे रे SS
शंकरिया मामा निंबोली खिला दे रे - 2
ऐ जी थारोड़े कारण ये मामा, जुड़-जुड़ काड़ी पड़ गई रे SS
शंकरिया मामा निंबोली खिला दे रे SS

Above song illustrates longing of the female lover for her man in which she is asking for ripe fruits (*nimboli*) of the Neem tree. It further says that she had gone dark (complexion) in suffering for him.

Some members of the Kalbelia community also work as medicine men implying herbal medicines. As a surname, the community uses Nath or Jogi at the end of their names. The Roma Gypsies are said to have connection with the Kalbelia community as their languages and musical traditions match with each other. The film *Latcho Drom* made in 1993 directed by French film director Tony Gatlif has tried to establish relationship between the European gypsies with those of the Indian vagabond communities through the subject of musical traditions.



Image-5: Kalbelia dance being performed by noted dancer Suva Devi at Arna Jharna Museum-Jodhpur. In the background are accompanist women singers and instrument (*been* aerophonic and *khanjari* percussion) player Kalunath and his family.

In the year 2010 AD the Kalbelia community was recognized for their folk songs and dances (Rajasthan) under the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Wearing the flowing black skirts, women dance replicating the movement of a serpent. Their men accompany them on the *Khanjari* percussion instrument and the *Poongi*. The UNESCO-ICH website states that, 'Song and dance are a matter of pride for the Kalbelia community, and a marker of their identity at a time when their traditional travelling lifestyle and role in rural society are diminishing'.¹¹³ Gulabo Sapera is a renowned name in the Kalbelia community honoured with the civilian award of Padmashree by the President of India.

With the stringent forest laws and The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960 the community had to give up their traditional profession. Earlier they used to quarry red and white clay from the forest areas used for painting mud-houses and sell it in camel carts or on the backs of donkeys in the villages in exchange for food grain. But with the construction of concrete houses, its requirement has diminished. The community has thus shifted to collecting scrap from villages and selling it to the large dealers on little margins. In present time they have started collecting women's hair used in the wig making industry. During the winters they sell woollen blankets which they get from Punjab. The men of those Kalbelia families who have migrated to the cities do labour work while women and children either beg or collect plastic from the streets. This is the major reason that their children do not attend schools.

The community is landless and lives on government barren lands either on the fringes of the forest or on the outskirts of the villages. They do not live in large communities, but are sparsely spread out, thus many a time their huts are burnt down by the dominant castes to ouster them from the village on a simple instance of any mistake. They face caste discrimination and stigma of criminality. Whenever any member of the community is caught, they are labelled as members of the Kalbelia criminal gang (see Picture 12). In Rajasthan and Gujarat, Kalbelia community has been listed as a Nomadic tribe but in Madhya Pradesh they are listed as a Denotified tribe. According to the Ayyangar Report, 'They commit robberies and dacoities on highways and mercilessly belabour their victims'.¹¹⁴ This is in regard to their (Jogi's) activities in the Madras state where they have been recognized as snake charmers (i.e. Kalbelia). This shows that the spread of the Kalbelia community is across India. Being part of the Nath Sampradaya their main goddess is Kamakhya situated in Guwahati in Orissa. Nath is considered to be an ancient religion which is amalgamation of Buddhism, Shaivism and Yoga traditions in India.

¹¹³ See <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kalbelia-folk-songs-and-dances-of-rajasthan-00340>

¹¹⁴ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 23.

Kalbelia are good at various craft works which they do either for themselves or for traditional patrons. Earlier they used to make grinding stones and bamboo baskets for the villagers. They make beautiful patchwork quilts embellished with mirror work and embroidery (see Picture 28). They also make intricate bead jewellery and indigenous *kajal* and *surma* (collyrium) applied to eyes. These are part of their dowry also. Many women among them also have the knowledge of weaving with a strap loom to make purses for keeping important articles in them while they travel. In the tourist fairs they are seen selling traditional bead jewellery pieces also which earns them good income particularly in hotels after their dance programs at Pushkar fair in Rajasthan.

The major problem that the community faces today is related to the burial of their deceased persons. They themselves live on the outskirts of the villages, either on the forest land or that of the Panchayat, which forbids them from its use as a burial site. After burial of the body, the site also becomes a place for *samadhi* (memorial) and then onwards regularly worshiped by the Kalbelia community. Thus, the forest as well as the Panchayat stops them to use their land for any burial activity. In such a situation they have to either secretly bury the dead bodies at night on the forest land (see Picture 29) or are compelled to bury them under the floor of their own houses. Discovering this, many a time the forest officials have exhumed the bodies, disallowing them to make it a place for *samadhi*. Considering this plight of the Kalbelia community, the Rajasthan High Court ordered the government to make provisions for burial sites for the community, but this ruling has been ignored by the village Panchayats and municipalities (see Picture 18).

Another problem that the community is facing in Jalore district is regarding the issue of caste certificates. Since Kalbelia and Jogi are part of the Nath Sampradaya they interchange their surnames from Kalbelia to Jogi. The Jogi as a caste is categorised in the OBC category in Rajasthan. Thus, the district magistrates deny them SC certificates. Apart from this there is high rate of illiteracy, poverty and lack of livelihood options due to remotely placed. Thus, they are compelled to beg in cities and villages where people suspect them to be kidnappers of children. Many disguise themselves as saints and fortune tellers (*Jyotish*) and roam around to beg for livelihood. Their children collect plastic from the streets.

5. Kanjar

Kanjars were notified under the CTA in the Punjab, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Madhya Bharat (in parts of Madhya Pradesh), Central Provinces (parts of Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh and Maharashtra), Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Ajmer and Bhopal states. Their activities were spread up to the Madras and Bombay States also thus notified there before

the repeal of the CTA.¹¹⁵ They were known for committing thefts, robberies, house breaking, cheating and cattle thefts. Presently most of such activities have greatly reduced and the youth are finding alternative means of livelihood. During the British time various settlement camps were made for them for corrective measures. They were later settled by allotting lands around these camps. Their four villages surveyed in this report were originally settlement camps - viz. Ramnagar (see Picture 30) and Dablana (Shankar Pura) in Bundi district of Rajasthan, Pander in Bhilwara district of Rajasthan and Sonkatch near Berasia in Bhopal district of Madhya Pradesh (see Picture 31 and Annexure 1.3). Presently these villages have a population of more than 5000 people.

As the name implies according to various resources and community's perception the word Kanjar has been derived from the Sanskrit '*kanan-chara*' meaning wanderer in the jungle. But on the other hand, it is likely that it has not come from the Aryan root. Another myth is that they derived their name from another Sanskrit word '*khanjar*' i.e. spade for being a warrior clan. W. Crooke has categorized Kanjar as an aggregate of vagrant tribes of a gypsy character of Dravidian origin which are found generally distributed across the North Western Province. Major Gunthorpe categories Kanjar and Sansi to be the same caste of criminals.¹¹⁶ The community is presently spread from north India to Maharashtra state where they are recognized as Kanjar Bhat. In Gujarat, they are known as Bhats.

Crooke has tried to classify twelve gypsy tribes together sharing common ethnological identity. These are Kuchbandiya (makers of brushes used by the weavers for cleaning threads), Nat (gymnast), Turkata (herbal medicine man), Beriya (mentioned as Bedia in this survey, Rai dancers), Beldar (diggers of tanks and builders of mud walls), Chamarmanga (ear cleaners and specialists in tooth extraction), Sansi (beggary, thieves and dacoits.), Dom (scavengers and executioners), Bhatu (cattle thieves), Qalandar (Muslims trainers of performing bears and monkeys), Baheliya (hunters) and Jogi (snake charmers). Crooke has tried to establish that, 'they are all pretty much of a same social grade, and that they approximate to a large degree in occupation and function'.¹¹⁷ Another account of putting the Kanjar and Nat tribe together is found in the book of M.A. Sherring¹¹⁸ which states that they are supposed to be the same as the Gypsy tribes of Spain, England and other parts of Europe.

The Kanjar community has been described as nomadic according to the British records and also according to their oral narratives. Their natural home was forests, where they survived by hunting wolves, hares and collecting tubers and vegetables which required no cultivation.

¹¹⁵ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 12

¹¹⁶ Criminal Classes, pg. 78

¹¹⁷ W. Crooke, *op. cit.*, pg. 137.

¹¹⁸ M.A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes - A Representation in Benares*, Trubner and Co., London, 1872, pg. 389.

Crooke also define them to be in transition stage breaking into different functional groups, settling down giving up their old gypsy habits and nomadic way of life. The language of the Kanjar has a Punjabi input in it which suggests their origin from western India. Some of their sub-castes are followers of Sikh Guru Nanak. They are known as Nanakshahis and visit Amritsar for pilgrimage.¹¹⁹ This establishes their connection with the Punjabi language. Along with that they use a code language called Parsi or Narsi Parsi to hide their conversation from outsiders. They are constantly afraid of the dreaded evil spirits, the soul of the departed people, who are said to enter the bodies of the living members of the household if by mistake they forget their ancestors. Thus, ancestral worship is an important practice among them, their memorial stones are found outside the village or on edge of the villages (see Picture 26).



Image-6: Kanjar men and women preparing a feast a day in advance of a Holi festival in the fields of Barundhan village near Ramnagar in Bundi district to offer it to their ancestral deities. This is a full day affair when community members arrive in the morning, prepare *daal-baati* (Rajasthan dish) and sacrifice a goat which is later cooked and distributed as *prasad*. New ceremonial stones are also installed on the same day to settle the deceased soul at peace. This photograph also relates with that of the Picture 26.

One section of the Kanjar community, known as Bijori Kanjari are known to be genealogists and perform acrobatic stunts to entertain their patrons. They are present in Bhilwara and Chittorgarh districts of Rajasthan and in Bhopal district of Madhya Pradesh. The Kanjar of village Chachoda in Baran District of Rajasthan are recognized for their *Chakri* dances (see

¹¹⁹ W. Crooke, *op. cit.*, pg. 146.

Picture 22). Earlier they used to go in marriage parties of their patrons and dance the whole night to entertain the guests. At present they have become popular and travel across India. Around 150 women dancers from Chachoda village are reported to be active dancers. One of the important songs of the Kanjar community capturing the essence of their *Chakri* dance form is as under:

जयपुर शहर में जाना ss मुझे बढ़िया नथनी लाना ss
जी मेरै गोरे-गोरे गाल ss रे पप्पिया पानी बोले ss
ऐ जी मेरो घर ना रे भरतार ss रे पप्पिया पानी बोले ss
अरे शाम पड़ा घर आना ss तोहे लाज शरम नहीं आना ss
रे मेरो घर ना रे भरतार ss रे पप्पिया पानी बोले ss

The above song sung by Filma Bai, famous Chakri dancer (aged 60 years) illustrates wish of a female to her male lover to get her a beautiful nose ring. Her cheeks are fair on which the nose ring will shine. It is monsoon time and birds are singing melodious songs. The beloved husband is not at home, he returns late in the evening and showing no regrets or shame and guilt.

There is a rich repertoire of such songs on which the community performs Chakri dance. In form of their deity, Kanjar worship a man god Mana who is said to protect them from challenging times. It is said that earlier they used to offer sacrifice of a child stolen from another community. There is a custom that the hair of the newly born child among the Kanjar are offered to Mana. Among the goddess, the Kanjar of Rajasthan worship Chauth Mata situated at Chauth-ka-Barwada in Sawai Madhopur district. Various nomadic tribes including the dominant Meena community in the region worship Chauth Mata for the reason that she used to protect them from being caught in their expeditions of thefts. As the word, 'Chauth' suggests portion or tax, the Kanjars used to promise a portion from their booty on success and abide by it.

As stated above, Kanjars believe in spirits of the deceased. Thus, to calm them they have to regularly worship them on auspicious occasions and through house ceremonies. One important practice among them is the marriage of the dead male person if he has died unmarried. To calm his spirit his stone (*devaliya*) is erected, and marriage is performed in a real manner. The marriage takes place between the real brother and sister-in-law who are already husband and wife. This amounts to a big expenditure because a feast is given to the community, dowry is offered from the sister-in-law's side to the deceased family members. Hence onwards, the unmarried spirit is calmed but must be worshiped regularly and offered a leaf platter of food on festive and ceremonial occasions. There are many good and bad

omens followed by the Kanjar while going out for work. They swear either on goddess Ganga or a Pipal tree whom they cannot disobey.

W. Crooke has mentioned various crafts practiced by the Kanjar community at one time like making of ropes from *munjh* grass and Palash tree roots, mats of *sirki* reed, sieves, baskets of cane, fans of palm leaves and rattles of plaited straw. They also prepared skin for drums played by the other Hindu castes. In upper India they are said to be stone cutters making grinding stones. Some were master in making thread out of the Indian cotton tree pods which was then given to the weavers. They used *khaskhas* grass collected from the forests to make screens to be used in summer months for cooling, and also brushes which are used by the weavers for cleaning the yarn and fabric.

In the present time the community is known for robbery, prostitution, making country liquor, and hunting of wild species of animals and birds. The drop-out rate of the Kanjar children in schools is high. The environment of the Kanjar village prevents them continuing their studies. Girls are pushed into prostitution at an early age. Girls are rented or sold to pay the debts of their families to the Community Panchayat which charges high penalties for resolving family disputes. Sex ratio is very uneven in favour of the girls. Cases of male feticide have been reported. And like the Bachhada and Bedia communities, cases of AIDS have also been reported among them.

6. Nat

Nat were classified as a Criminal Tribe in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Vindhya Pradesh during the 1940s. In Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh they are reported to be cattle lifters.¹²⁰ Nat, as the word suggests, is a Sanskrit word, i.e. *Nata*, signifies a dancer. Nat does not refer to a particular caste group but a set of vagrant acrobats and showmen, especially those who make it their business to do feats on the tight-rope or with poles, and those who train and exhibit snakes.¹²¹ A section of gypsy Bedia are also known as Nat in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. They were spread across the North-Western Province and known as gypsy dancers, acrobats and prostitutes.¹²² M.A. Sherring in his book, 'Hindu Tribes and Castes'¹²³ published during the year 1872, throws some light on the lifestyle of the Nat community. He begins with, 'This (Nat) and the Kanjar tribe, in their normal condition, lead a vagrant life, avoiding houses, and preferring the shade of trees, or

¹²⁰ Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949-1950) chaired by Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, pg. 32.

¹²¹ Russel and Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pg. 286.

¹²² William Crooke, *op. cit.*, pg. 56.

¹²³ M.A. Sherring, *op. cit.*, pg. 386.

light temporary habitations, to a fixed and permanent home.' Many scholars have projected that the Gypsies of the Europe have originated from them.

Traditionally Nat have been practicing various occupations from rope walking to orally reciting genealogies of their patrons for which they travel far distances to the villages associated with them. Before the partition, Nat of Alwar district used to visit distant villages of Punjab (now in Pakistan) to serve as genealogists. Within the Nat community there are different hierarchies categorized according to their association with the class of people. For example, those serving the royal class are called Raj Nat among whom women dance, and men play musical instruments. Most of the Nat community perform gymnast on rope to the rhythm of drumbeats. Some among them also walk on stilts.¹²⁴ One section of the community is also into prostitution. When the Kanjar and Bedia are not able to find suitable girls¹²⁵ for marriage in their community, their boys marry in Nat community.



Image-7: Boy from the Nat community walking on stilts at Pushkar Fair, Rajasthan. Another young boy in the background is waiting to show his skill at gymnastics while their father is supervising in the background. From the photograph one may notice that Nat boys (also girls) are expert in walking on tight rope, stilts, doing gymnastics and dance. This is one way of traditional livelihood for the Nat community which keeps them on the move from one tourist fair to another throughout the year.

¹²⁴ One of the sub-castes of Nats called Bijaniahs perform in public by walking on stilts.

¹²⁵ As most of the Kanjar and Bedia girls in some of the villages are into prostitution who never marry. The remaining demand high bride price which is not possible for the poor families to afford.

Nat community belongs to both Muslim and Hindus castes spread across north, central and south India. Nat is an occupational group which comprises of different clans who have been grouped together on account of their common occupation of dancing, prostitution, and performance of various primitive industries.¹²⁶ The Nat community claims Marwar in Rajasthan as their original abode. But in later years they migrated to different places in search of livelihood when their population multiplied.

According to Prem Bhat of Jodhpur, the Kathputli Bhat (puppeteers) were originally Nat of the Bambhi¹²⁷ caste in Rajasthan. Later to jump higher into the caste hierarchy they started using Bhat as their caste name. A section of them who shifted to Delhi further changed the surname to Bhaat to disguise themselves as sub-caste of Brahmins. The reason is because being a Nat genealogist of the Bhambhi caste throws them down the caste hierarchy to face discrimination from other castes which is a strong factor in Rajasthan. Thus they transformed their identity to Kathputli Bhat.

The Bazigars (Muslim) who do magic shows and the Bhand who compose praiseworthy poetry of different *gotra* (sub-caste) of their patrons and play drums are among the Nat community. Exhibitors of snake, monkey and bear were also from the Nat community but later due to ban on their professions under 'The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960', they had to leave this profession. The diversity of professions among the Nat classifies them under various clans. One of the terms which has been used by the DNT activists in recent years to unite the community is 'Bhantu' which means brother in one sense but actually it is one of the *gotra* among the Nat of North India region.¹²⁸

For a long time, like the Kalbelia, Nat have been living in out-of-the-way hamlets away from the villages. Presently, most of them have settled down on waste lands in villages or live in slums of the cities. Their women either beg on streets with their children or work as maid servants in urban households. Men play drums during the marriage season or find unskilled labour jobs. Their work of rope walking has been banned by the police as they are subject to be arrested under the Section 141 & 151 for creating crowd in public places and create law and order situation during their shows. They are also harassed under the Anti-Beggary Act.

Under the present survey Nat community has been listed as DNT in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh while in Gujarat they fall under the Nomadic Tribe. The community still live a life of nomadism in search of livelihood but the cases of criminality are rarely seen among them. They have chosen different profession to sustain their life like drum playing in marriages,

¹²⁶ William Crooke, *op. cit.*, pg. 57.

¹²⁷ The Bhambhi are considered as untouchables in Rajasthan due to their profession of skinning dead animals for leather.

¹²⁸ M.A. Sherring, *op. cit.*, pg. 389.

jobs as waiters in catering services, etc. Their women beg on streets and children are found collecting plastic not attending schools. In Kota city where the survey has taken place, cases of drug addiction are common. Children inhale whitener containing intoxicating chemicals. It has a hallucinatory effect on the sniffer.

7. Pardhi

The word Pardhi is said to have been derived from the Marathi word *paradh*, meaning hunting. The community is popularly known as a low caste of wandering fowlers and hunters.¹²⁹ The community is spread in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh they are listed as DNTs while in Rajasthan and Gujarat as Nomadic Tribes. As stated by Russel and Hiralal, according to a legend the first ancestor of the Pardhi was a Gond'.¹³⁰ A few accounts state that they originated from the Rajputs as they have surnames like Sesodia, Panwar, Solanki, Chauhan, Rathor and so on. There are various classes and divisions within the Pardhi caste with different social hierarchies. Due to this reason the community has been categorized differently in different districts and tehsils of Madhya Pradesh (see Map-3).

Since historical times Pardhi are good at hunting and trapping wild animals, thus they were employed by the Royals and Nawabs in hunting expeditions. A group of Pardi are employed by cultivators jointly to protect their winter crop from *Neelgai* (blue bull). Earlier they were employed to protect the crops from black buck. In exchange for their services, they are paid a portion from the crop harvest. According to Russel and Hiralal, a class of the Pardhi known as Langoti Pardhi and Takankars were serious offenders. They were experts in making a hole in walls for burglary purposes and escape silently with the loot. In Bombay Presidency they were known for robbing the standing crop from the fields.¹³¹

Ananthasayanam Ayyangar has classified Pardhi as Nirshikaris inhabiting Madras, Bombay, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad. He states that they live by hunting, begging and collecting and selling forest produce. They are said to be expert at snaring birds. In Bombay state, the wandering Pardhi generally steal grain or small livestock and sometimes commit more serious crimes.¹³²

According to M. Kennedy's book 'The Criminal Classes in India', written particularly as a manual for the Police Department on Criminal Tribes of Bombay Presidency, the Pardhi are said to be an offshoot of the great Bauriah tribe from which various criminal classes have

¹²⁹ Russel and Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pg. 359.

¹³⁰ Russel and Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pg. 360.

¹³¹ Russel and Hira Lal, *op. cit.*, pg. 369.

¹³² Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 32.

originated. Based on their hunting skills, they have been categorized as Vaghri Pardhi¹³³ and Phas Pardhi¹³⁴. Vaghri Pardhi uses nets while Phas Pardhi use nooses for catching wild animals and birds. Phas Pardhi are also known as Haranshikaris (hunter of deer). There is another section of Pardhi whose profession is fretting mill-stones, they are called Takaris or Takankars.¹³⁵ Apart from this there are Langoti Pardhi (wearers of loin cloths), Pal Pardhi (those who live in Pal), Bel Pardhi (those who honour bulls, see Image-8), Raj Pardhi, Televehanya Pardhi, Cheetawalla Pardhi¹³⁶ and Bahelia Pardhi¹³⁷. M. Kennedy has identified the Takankars among all the Pardhi groups as the most inveterate housebreakers and dangerous criminals.¹³⁸ They have been listed for dacoity and robbery, indulging in great violence, even murder.

A section of the Pardhi has converted to Islam in Kutchh (Gujarat), Khandesh (Maharashtra) and Dharwar (Karnakata). Intermarriage among the different sections of the Pardhi community is prohibited and many do not eat with other sections either. The habitation of Pardhi has always been around the grasslands with availability of water where they can snare game. They are fond of catching partridges and hares which has also been reflected in the survey report. To send signals and to attract birds, they can perfectly imitate the sounds of the peacock, quail, jackals, hares and foxes etc.

To sum it up, Pardhi were the expert trackers for wild animals. They accompanied the Mughals rulers and Hindu Rajas on their hunting expeditions. According to an interesting note, Emperor Akbar used to maintain a contingent of a thousand cheetahs trained to hunt. They even tamed leopards and panthers to hunt the deer (see Picture 33). These were none other than the Cheetawalla Pardhi who worked for them in lieu of rewards which gave them a decent living standard. When the Mughal dynasty declined, the Pardhi were left to fend for themselves. They took to the forests and killed many animals to feed themselves and sell the wildlife products to the locals. This led to a steady decline in the wildlife population due to a lack of legal controls on hunting. The British Raj further reduced the number by taking up hunting for sports. Even after the British departure, hunting continued for food, recreation, hide, horn, musk, etc. Pardhi were the main source of these wildlife products for the wildlife traders catering to their international market.

¹³³ Vaghri is derived from the word *vaghur* which means a net to entrap hares, etc.

¹³⁴ *Phas* means a noose. So Pardhi who capture pig, deer, etc. through it are called *Phas* Pardhi.

¹³⁵ M. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pg. 133.

¹³⁶ Known for catching young panthers and Cheeta cubs which they train and sell to the nobles and kings who are fond of hunting. Due to this they sometime call themselves as Raj Pardhi.

¹³⁷ Catch Cheetah under the cover of a bullock (*bail*).

¹³⁸ M. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pg. 138.

Due to a reduction in the amount of wildlife and the extinction of some species like the Cheetah,¹³⁹ the Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972 was enforced across the country. Hunting communities like the Pardhi¹⁴⁰ got the worst deal. With the subsequent announcement of the Wildlife Sanctuaries and National Parks, they were asked to vacate the jungles. They were seen as intruders, poachers and destroyers of wildlife. This stigma of criminality lingers. To rehabilitate them, the government allotted agriculture land to them, but these are barren plots with no irrigation facilities. Many a time hunger compels them into small kills and thefts.

Pardhi were described as criminal tribes by the British colonial rule. After the British left, CTA was abolished, and they became the Denotified Tribes. Presently like the other DNTs they are stuck in the vicious cycle of criminalization and suspicion of the Police and Forest officials. Finding new ways of livelihood has become a challenge for the community due to severe illiteracy, backwardness, and stigma of their unlawful profession.

As stated above, there are different classes of Pardhi, thus many among them are misunderstood though they are not associated with crime anymore. A few initiatives have been taken up by the forest department around Panna where they have created hostels for the students of these communities. A few NGOs are working with them for the protection of the wildlife and promotion of nature tourism, education and legal aid.

Pardhi claim that they are descendants of Jagdeo Panwar (or Daya Jagdeo) who was a great archer and hunter.¹⁴¹ He was blessed by the goddess for his skill of catching animals with a noose. When Lord Rama was not able to catch a deer, he requested Jagdeo Panwar to catch it who did so successfully. He was blessed by the Rama to continue hunting and earn a livelihood. Since then, one section of the Pardhi are known as Rama Panwar. Being authorised by Rama they claim their right for hunting for their survival.

Pardhi follow certain rules and regulations imposed by their forefathers. If they catch a pair of partridge, they release one of them to preserve the species. They cannot kill chicks, otherwise they are penalized by the community Panchayat. They only eat wild animals, thus never touch dogs or cats which are domesticated.

Earlier while camping outside the village their women would go in the villages to sell herbal medicines and animal products used for treating patients. Using barter they collected food grains, salt, chili, and oil. Now most of them have settled but few continue the practices and make rounds of the villages to earn a livelihood. They also visit far off places like Delhi, Mumbai, Agra, Mathura, etc. living a nomadic life. But now they have stopped going out

¹³⁹ The last having been shot in 1951.

¹⁴⁰ In Rajasthan similar community called Mogia got badly affected.

¹⁴¹ According to Kishan Panwar's interview of Ehsaan Nagar, Tehsil Hujur, District Bhopal.

due to strict wildlife and forest Acts and also because of the development of health facilities. Present generation of villagers have also stopped buying such things believing their practices to be superstitious.



Image-8: Worship of *Kuldevi* (mother goddess) by the Bel Pardhi community members during the month of *Chaitra* (April month). Village Mundikhedi, Dist. Sehore, Madhya Pradesh. Photo credit: Muskan-Bhopal.

Another work which was specific to the Pardhi during the state time was to spy upon and work as messengers for the Gwalior rulers in Madhya Pradesh. Being recognized for their work, one of the *Chattri* (memorial) of the Pardhi ancestors is said to be in the Gwalior palace.¹⁴² Apart from this another important work adopted by the Pardhi has been to protect agricultural fields from wild animals. In exchange for their services, they are given a portion of the harvest. The same work is done by the Mogia and Baori communities in Rajasthan. But after fencing of forests with barbed wire this work is also coming to an end.

According to Tasveer Parmar, his Pardhi community still worship their *Khandara* (noose) during certain auspicious days as it is meant for their livelihood. But the same is caught by

¹⁴² According to Tasveer Parmar's of Hazib Nagar, interviewed at Muskaan-Bhopal.

the forest and police officials and confiscated as an offensive tool. These nooses are destroyed which are revered by the Pardhi.

After enactment of the strict Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 the community was forced out of the jungles. They started migrating to the cities from where also they were displaced and are still being displaced. There has been no policy for rehabilitation of the Pardhi which compelled many of them to resort to petty crimes and collection of discarded plastics and scrap from the streets. Their children and women beg in the streets. They still migrate for livelihood which is traditionally called *Osare*. The community continues to live in poverty. But in spite of this the community is often suspected by the police, their houses are sometimes raided and destroyed at midnight. Women are picked up and taken to police stations for interrogation. The data analysis report (see Table 12.a and 12.i) also reflects this fact clearly. There are cases of police harassment and bribery by the police to write-off the wrong criminal cases booked against their members. This has led to suicides in the community, even of the teenage boys and girls. Apart from the police, cases of mob lynching for wrongly suspecting them as thieves have also been reported.¹⁴³

After the ban on their traditional food which has now come in the category of protected wildlife species, the food habit of the community has completely changed leading to malnutrition among the present generation. Tobacco and liquor addiction is leading to an increase in tuberculosis and cancer cases. Cases of mental problems and suicide are also becoming common. Their life expectancy is limited to 45-50 years. Since the Pardhi patients are not attended well in the government hospitals (like the Hamida Govt. Hospital of Bhopla), they prefer to visit the private hospitals. The data survey also reflects this fact. Similarly, the education and literacy level are very low. Very recently children have started attending schools, but only 25% to 30%, that too in urban areas. Caste and hygiene discrimination is a major factor for discouragement in school education. Teachers are not able to control this prejudice under the pressure of the dominant community whose children study in the same school. This leads to a high drop-out rate by class five standard.

The greatest draw back for the community is from their *Jati* (clan) Panchayat. They solve the cases of community conflicts by taking a large commission which leads to indebtedness. When girls are to be married, the Panchayat announce their bride price. After marriage this leads to torture on the girl by in-laws. They feel that they have purchased her by paying the price. Women have no right to speak of their problems because of the pressure from the *Jati* Panchayat members. The progressive youth feel that the *Jati* Panchayat is a blot on their

¹⁴³ Case of Bhanpur, Bhopal in which five women of Ehsaan Nagar were beaten, injured and sexually harassed in a gowdown by the mob. The case is in hearing, under the FIR filed by Muskaan-Bhopal in favour of the community.

community which does not allow the community to progress. They want it to be banned and abolished.

8. Sansi

Sansi or Sansia as recognized in the old records were a wandering tribe notified as a Criminal Tribe in Uttar Pradesh, Ajmer, Delhi, Bhopal, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Patiala and East Punjab States Union and parts of J&K State.¹⁴⁴ They were declared as a criminal tribe under Section 5 of Act XVII of 1871, in the districts of Muzafnagar, Budaon, Kheri and Allahabad in United Province and throughout the Punjab. Later they were listed in Jodhpur and Kota state under the amended CTA.¹⁴⁵ Under settlement policy of the CTA, they were employed by the Kota state as village watchmen as mentioned in the Kota's Administrative Report of 1904 AD.¹⁴⁶

Sansi have been a wandering tribe riding on *pada* (male buffaloes) committing thefts, burglary and robberies. They trace their origin from Marwar and Ajmer. For example, the ancestral native village of Charras (Sansi) of Ahmedabad is Bishala village of Barmer district of Rajasthan which falls in the Marwar state of that period (see Picture 34). Sansi, Kanjar, Bedia, Haburas and Bhatu trace their common descent from Sans Mal of Bharatpur whom they still revere and worship as their Guru.¹⁴⁷ But according to other accounts by the British officers Sansi and Kanjar are distinct tribes though having several points in common. According to Russel and Heera Lal, Sansi were bards of the Jat caste and had a fixed number of households in particular villages to visit once a year and collect gifts and their annual portion of the crop harvest. Being impressed with their genealogical recitations they were also gifted with cows, ponies and buffaloes. But this account may be wrong as they disguise themselves as genealogists to hide their identity while on the move through the villages and cities.

Women are strong characters in the Sansi, Pardhi and Kanjar communities. Once their men are caught and jailed, they fight court cases for their release and take care of the family's livelihood at the same time. This has made many women earn the title of 'Patel' as community leaders who are obeyed by the community unanimously. British records also mention women led Sansi gangs prevailing in Aligarh district during the early 20th century AD.¹⁴⁸ This reflects strong status of women in the community.

¹⁴⁴ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 35.

¹⁴⁵ G.W. Gayer, Lectures on some Criminal Tribes of India and Religious Mendicants. Second edition. Nagpur 1910, pg. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Report on the Administration of the Kotah state, Samvat 1961 (1904 AD), pg. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, pg. 35.

¹⁴⁸ R.V. Russel and Hira Lal, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, pg. 492.



Image-9: A Sansi woman in Ajmer (Rajasthan) complaining about the unemployment of the community youth and lack of basic facilities in their locality.

According to the historical¹⁴⁹ and present records they are divided into two principal clans, Malha and Bidhoo (or Kalkar). These are again sub-divided into various *gotra* (sub-clans) and known with different names across India - like Sansi Kanjar, Adodiyas, Popats, Chharas, Geedhiyes, Haboodes, Bhantu, Kanjar Bediyas, Bailwale Kanjar, etc. In the present time Sansi have been classified as a DNT community across the three states - Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh under study.

According to M. Kennedy, in the house breaking cases of the wealthy family, they do not, as a principle, outrage females of the house. It is only the male occupants of the house who are forced to disclose the hidden property.¹⁵⁰ They avoid unnecessary violence until they themselves are in danger then they have to resort to homicide. In case of sharing the loot, they swear by 'Ganga' or 'Kalka' that none of the members has retained any portion of the loot. During the housebreaking, only the experts enter inside by creating a hole in the wall. Those who watch outside never desert their comrades inside and will put up a tough fight rather than allow their members to be caught. In case any member is killed in the raid, or are caught and arrested by the police, they take care of his wife and children till they live with the gang. The gang always shares a portion of the loot with them. This is converted into cash

¹⁴⁹ M. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pg. 245.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pg. 252.

before distribution. The receivers of such articles could be goldsmiths, Bania, liquor vendors, shroffs, or sometimes even Patils and the Patwari. Both the parties have faith in each other.¹⁵¹

The India Arms Act 1878¹⁵² was enforced by the British to forbid the communities like Sansi from carrying any kind of offensive weapons which could be used for a criminal purpose. Thus, communities like Sansi had to conceal their arms from the police while on the move.

The population of the Sansi community spread in different states under study is notable. Most of them have settled down in villages or in clusters in urban areas. The stigma of making country liquor and selling of illicit liquor is strongly attached to them. They are still found involved in it. They are regularly harassed and booked under these cases, especially the young members. They also employ their children in this profession due to which children cannot attend schools. Police atrocity is greatly attached with this community and there are many instances reported where police raid their villages and book innocent youths (see Picture 35). To escape from the police, many of the Sansi have abandoned their villages and dispersed into the larger cities where they have networked with the liquor mafia to sell their portion on commission basis avoiding duties and taxation. As compared to the other DNT communities their wealth index is considerably better but not for every household. They continue to live under the stigma of criminality and their children face discrimination in schools. Youth of the community find it difficult to secure respectable jobs as they are always under suspicion.

The following survey report features various factors which are affecting the DNT communities leading to their backwardness and miserable life.

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¹⁵¹ M. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pg. 256.

¹⁵² With the appointment of Lord Lytton as Viceroy of India in 1858, the Arms Act was legislated under his rule in 1878. It was outcome of the 1857 mutiny in which armed sepoys and rulers revolted against the British. The act included the mandatory licensing to carry a weapon, but contained exclusions for some groups and persons. These groups listed under the CTA 1871 were forbidden to carry weapons to control their criminal activities however the English people were allowed. The Act also marked end to manufacturing, selling, possession, and carrying of firearms.

SURVEY LOCATIONS

The survey was conducted on eight De-notified and Nomadic Tribes (DNTs) commonly spread across the three states to study their interrelationship, social status, and varied issues faced by them. The total sample size of the survey was 2274 households which has covered 11064 members. The survey questionnaire contained 88 questions to cover the various socio-economic and educational aspects. It was conducted in 133 locations of 35 Tehsils of 16 Districts spread across Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh states. The survey was assisted by five organizations i.e. Muskaan in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, Jan Sahas in Madhya Pradesh, Kota Heritage Society (KHS) and Gramin Shiksha Kendra (GSK) in Rajasthan and Budhan Theatre (BT) in Gujarat. The training and supervision were conducted by Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara. The project was funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF), UK. In principle it was decided that the survey should only be conducted by the community members to collect factual data. Therefore, a total of 19 community surveyors designated by the partner organizations carried out the survey during the period of more than one year (see Table No. 1.i and Annexure 2.1 for details). The data analysis of this survey is presented here. It's detailed annexures, photographs, case studies are attached at the end of this report.

Various discussion about the challenges of the survey took place during the training sessions and pilot survey. This also helped in modifying the questionnaire in a more sensitive manner as certain questions were related to traditional professions which are now marked illegal. The surveyors had good contacts and faith within their community. Thus, it was helpful to capture a true insight of the community issues. To deal with the sensitive information Bhasha formed an Ethical Committee before start of the project. The suggestions of the Ethical

Committee were followed while conducting the survey and for audio-video documentation. Below are major findings of the survey.

1.a Locations, participating organizations, surveyors and distribution of questionnaires among the communities

As stated, the survey was aimed at studying those communities which are distributed in three states, and if not in three then at least in two. But while working with five of the organizations it was decided to survey those communities with whom the organizations had been working for a long time and with whom they were in close contact. Thus, a few changes were made to the original proposal. But in actual fact, apart from the Bachhada and Pardhi (who are only based in MP), the rest of the six communities are spread in two or more states (see Table 1.i and Annexure 2.1). This has helped to understand the diversity of issues among these communities across the three states (see Picture 1 to 6).

Table 1.i - Location wise communities covered by the organizations under the survey.

Sr. No.	No. of Locations	No. of Tehsils	No. of Districts	State/s covered	Participating organization	No. of Surveyors	No. of Questionnaires	Communities covered
1	23	6	3	Rajasthan	KHS	5	510	Kanjar, Gadia Luhar, Nat, Kalbelia, Sansi
2	33	10	5	Madhya Pradesh & Rajasthan	Muskaan	6	767	Pardhi, Bedia, Kanjar, Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar
3	13	4	1	Rajasthan	GSK	4	224	Kanjar, Gadia Luhar, Nat
4	10	8	4	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	2	497	Sansi, Nat, Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia
5	33	7	3	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	2	276	Bachhada, Gadia Luhar
Total	112	35	16	3	5	19	2274	

For details see Annexure No. 2.1

1.b Community and state wise questionnaire breakup

The questionnaires were divided according to the approach of the DNT communities to the participating organizations. A total of two thousand two hundred and seventy-four questionnaires (2274) were completed among the eight communities across the three states under study. Only Bachhada and Pardhi have their presence in Madhya Pradesh while the rest of the communities are spread across the three states. The maximum number of

questionnaires were covered on Gadia Luhar and Kalbelia communities which are spread in all the three states. Being traditionally nomadic, their population is found across north and western India. The table below illustrates the questionnaires covered on eight communities across the three states in rural and urban.

Table 1.ii - Community and state wise questionnaire breakup.

Sr. No.	Community	State	State wise total no. of Questionnaires			Community wise total number of questionnaires		
			Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
1	Bachhada	Rajasthan	0	0	0	278	0	278
		Gujarat	0	0	0			
		Madhya Pradesh	278	0	278			
2	Bedia	Rajasthan	42	17	59	216	73	289
		Gujarat	0	0	0			
		Madhya Pradesh	174	56	230			
3	Gadia Luhar	Rajasthan	108	98	206	143	201	344
		Gujarat	0	100	100			
		Madhya Pradesh	35	3	38			
4	Kalbelia	Rajasthan	92	18	110	230	99	329
		Gujarat	32	80	112			
		Madhya Pradesh	106	1	107			
5	Kanjari	Rajasthan	263	6	269	314	7	321
		Gujarat	0	0	0			
		Madhya Pradesh	51	1	52			
6	Nat	Rajasthan	33	92	125	43	192	235
		Gujarat	10	100	110			
		Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0			
7	Pardhi	Rajasthan	0	0	0	142	65	207
		Gujarat	0	0	0			
		Madhya Pradesh	142	65	207			
8	Sansi	Rajasthan	74	26	100	74	197	271
		Gujarat	0	171	171			
		Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0			
Total						1440	834	2274

Note: See Map-1 showing survey locations of the three states.

1c. Distribution of surveyed communities in rural and urban

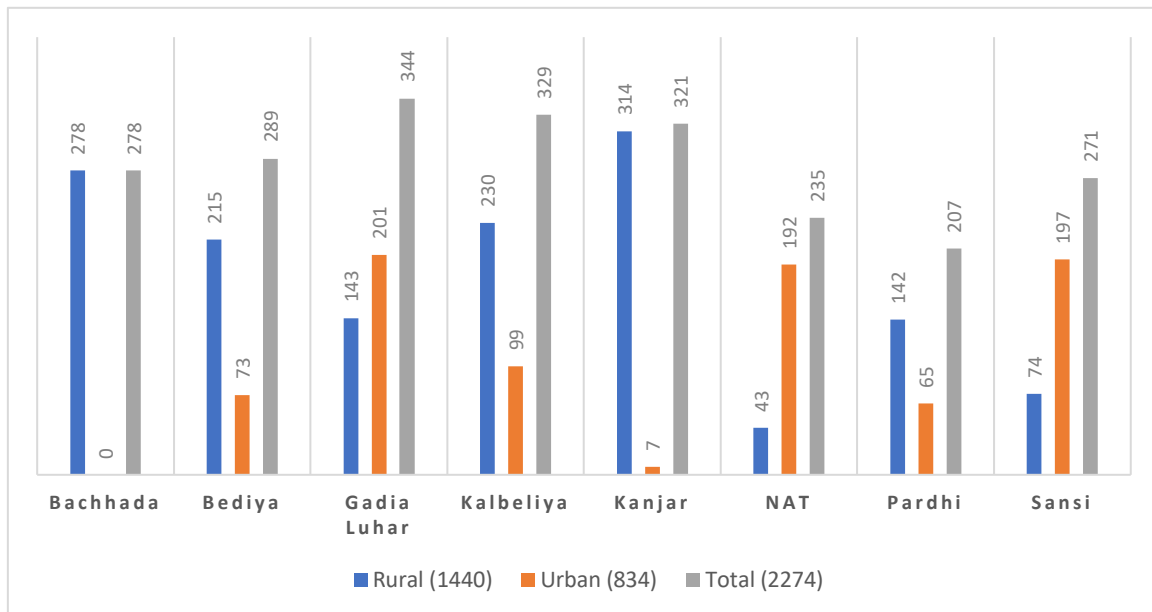
On analyzing the survey data on the basis of rural and urban it is found that 100% members of the Bachhada community households reside in rural area, mainly along the national highways in Mandsaur, Nimach and Ratlam districts of Madhya Pradesh as they are involved in sex trade. On highways it is easy to find the clients mostly among the truck drivers. Similarly, 97.8% Kanjar community also reside in villages, but their girls migrate to metro cities for sex trade. Though the Kanjar had been nomadic earlier, during the last century they were rehabilitated and settled in villages both during the Princely time and the British period and later by the Indian Government.¹⁵³ Many among their villages are development of the settlement camps which were made during the implementation of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Due to the loss of traditional livelihood the Nat and Gadia Luhar communities which have been nomadic in nature have shifted to urban areas to find new livelihoods. In the survey of the households, it has been noticed that 81.7% of the Nat and 58.4% of the Gadia Luhar are now settled in urban cities. As migration from rural areas is increasing the concentration of these communities is also increasing.

Along with the other DNTs, these are the communities which forms the major chunk of the slums in cities living in unhygienic and poor conditions. The average data of the survey shows that 63.3% (1440) DNT households live in rural areas and 36.7% (834) live in urban areas (see Chart 1.a and Annexure 2.2 to 2.5). Apart from this, there are households who migrate every year between their native village and urban centres according to the seasonal occupational cycle. For example, the Nat who play drums in marriages, shift to cities during the marriage season i.e., from October to June. While in the lean period they return to their native villages where they do labour or agriculture work. Similarly, the landless Kalbelia community migrates to other parts during the crop harvest period to earn some food grains to eat during the year. During winters Kalbelia migrate to cities where their women beg, children collect plastic, and men does some labour job to support the family. As monsoon arrive, they return to their villages for farming on small plots of lands that they have. Post Diwali festival they return to the cities. Chart 1.a shows distribution of questionnaires in rural and urban areas community wise.

The urban areas where these DNT communities live are majorly slum areas or government lands where they find temporary settlements. Girls among the Bachhada, Bedia, and Kanjar communities, once they shift to the cities do not return to live in the villages. By working in the dance bars, they keep sending the money to their parents. Along with them their brothers also migrate to find work as taxi drivers or do other labour works.

¹⁵³ The Shankarpura and Ramnagar Kanjar colony were settlement camps established during the British period. Later they developed into large villages. Similarly, the Chhara Nagar of Sansi community in Ahmedabad was originally an open jail for their rehabilitation made after the enactment of the CTA.

Chart 1.a - Distribution of the survey in rural-urban areas.



Note: For details see Annexure 2.2 to 2.5

1d. Details of the DNT Household Surveyed

Among the total 2274 household surveyed, 90% (2048) of the respondents were male members and the remaining 10% (226) percent were women (see Chart 1.b). Among that 70% respondents were in the age group of 30 to 50 years (see Chart 1.c). Most of them were husband and wife.

Chart 1.b - Gender ratio of the respondents from the total 2274 nos. households.

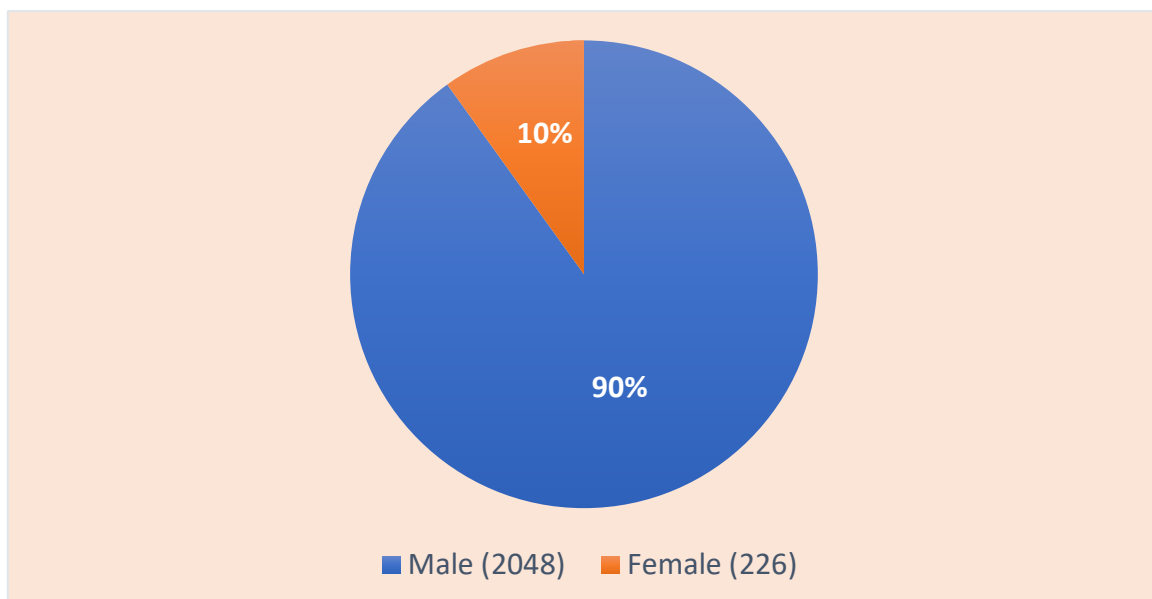
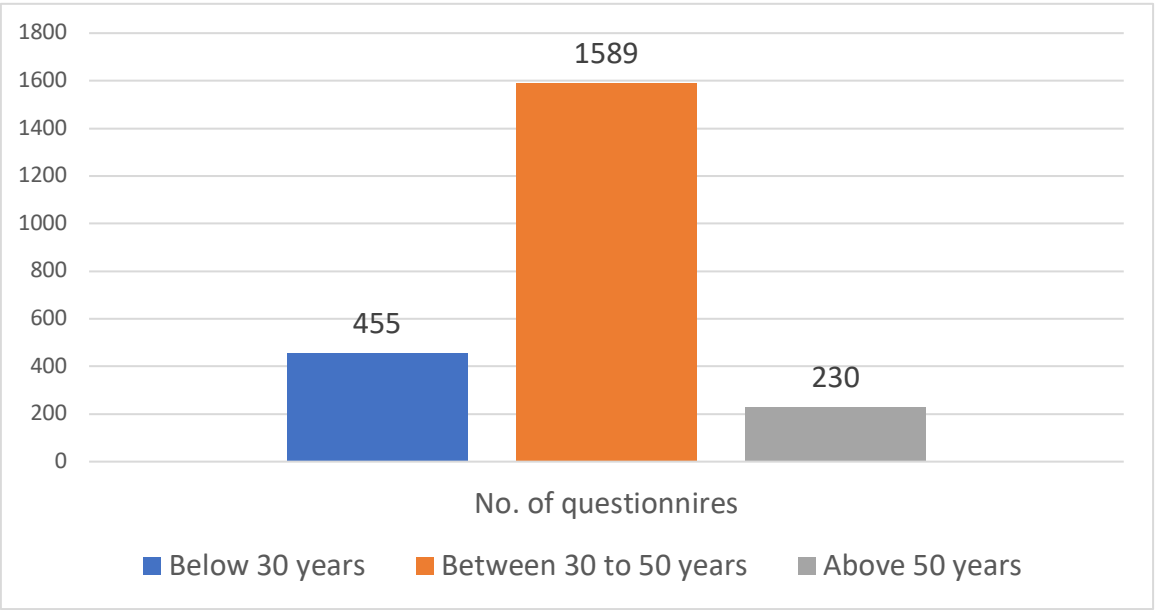


Chart 1.c - Age of the respondents of the households.



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SOCIAL CATEGORIES OF THE DNT COMMUNITIES

It has been noticed that among the DNT communities that the social categories vary between different states. Within these communities there exist many sub-castes or sub-groups which have different social status and position in the caste hierarchy. Due to the lack of proper study and understanding, the government has categorized them differently in the official records. For example, the Bansfod (sub-caste of Kalbelia) community claim themselves to be Kalbelia, they dine and intermarry among each other, but the community members uniformly do not entail Schedule Caste (SC) status in Rajasthan. Some recognize them as Jogi who are categorized under the OBC. Many among the government officials are unaware of such facts, thus they do not make their SC caste certificates. The reason that most of the communities have stated regarding this issue is that earlier their ancestors were illiterate, always on the move in search of traditional livelihood thus they never thought of procuring caste certificates which might be of help at a later stage. In the present time when the young generation is getting educated, to avail benefits of the government schemes, they want to get their caste certificates made. But their requests are being turned down at many places.

As stated above that most of the DNT communities are listed differently in different states. In Gujarat all the DNT communities are listed under the OBC category.¹⁵⁴ In the present study it has been noticed that the Kalbelia are given the status of OBC in Gujarat¹⁵⁵ while in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh they are listed as SC. Similarly, the Nat and Sansi are listed as OBC in Gujarat while in Rajasthan they are categorized as SC. This matter has been addressed by the Renke¹⁵⁶ and Idate DNT-NT-SNT Commissions both together have

¹⁵⁴ National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (Idate Commission), Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, 2014, pg. 101.

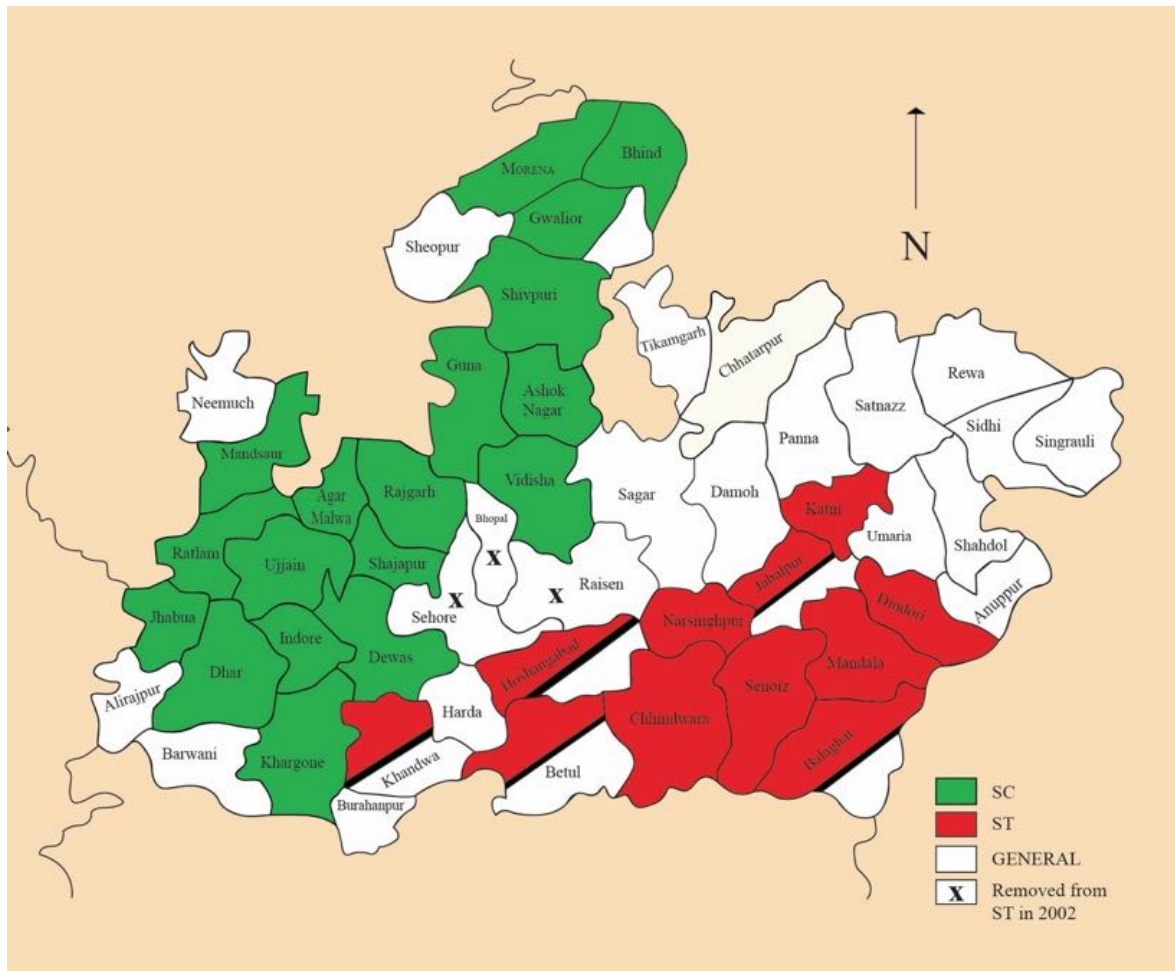
¹⁵⁵ In Gujarat most of the DNT communities have been listed under OBC category. See Idate Commission Report (<http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/Idate%20Commission.pdf>)

¹⁵⁶ Recommendation No. 76, pg. 131 of the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes. Vol.-I, June 30, 2008.

suggested to categorized them uniformly across the country. But according to Article 340, 341 & 342 of the Constitution of India, reservation is a subject matter for the state. The National Commission on DNT, NT, SNT headed by Bhiku Ramji Idate, identified over 269 extremely marginalized communities who have never been identified or included in any of the reserved categories.¹⁵⁷ The commission has recommended their inclusion for reservation.

But within the state and also within the district we see another complicated case of social categorization which has come to light in this study regarding the Pardhi community in Madhya Pradesh (MP). In MP, from the total fifty-two districts, in eighteen districts the community is categorized as SC, in seventeen districts as ST, in three districts they have their population but are not given any status, while in the remaining fourteen districts they are listed under the General category (see Map-3).

Map-3: Map of Madhya Pradesh showing different social categorization of the Pardhi community. (Map not to scale, only suggestive)



¹⁵⁷ Idate Commission Report, *op. cit.*, pg. 105.

In five districts - Khandwa, Betul, Hoshangabad, Balaghat and Jabalpur we see that the community has different status within these districts marked by the black line. This disparity within one state is unseen with any other DNT communities in the three states under study. Similar case is of the Kanjar community living in Berasiya Tehsil of Bhopal (MP).¹⁵⁸ The table below lists different social categories of the eight DNT communities under study.

Table 2.i - Social Categories of the DNT communities under study.

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Gujarat	--	--	OBC	OBC	--	OBC	--	OBC
Rajasthan	--	SC	SBC	SC	SC	SC	--	SC
Madhya Pradesh	SC	SC	OBC	SC	SC	--	SC, OBC, ST	--

(SC - Schedule Caste, ST - Schedule Tribe, OBC - Other Backward Class, SBC - Special Backward Class)

The Government of India's Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment has listed the DNT communities across the different states. Similar to the reserved categories, the list shows different status of the DNT, NT and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (SNT) across the different states. Like listing of the reserved categories, this is also a state matter. Regarding giving special benefits to the DNT communities, is also a state matter. So far only Gujarat government has given benefits in education to the DNT communities¹⁵⁹ but not in jobs. The survey data of the three states under study shows that Bedia are listed as DNT in MP but in Rajasthan they are not in the list in any of the DNT/NT/SNT¹⁶⁰ lists. Pardhi and Kalbelia are under the NT category in Gujarat and Rajasthan but in Madhya Pradesh they are listed as DNT. It is only the Gadia Luhar and Sansi communities who have been listed uniformly as NT and DNT respectively across the three states. Below is a table showing these differences.

Table 2.ii - State wise categorization of the communities under survey into DNT and NT.

States	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Gujarat	--	--	NT	NT	--	NT	NT	DNT
Rajasthan	--	--	NT	NT	DNT	DNT	NT	DNT
Madhya Pradesh	DNT	DNT	NT	DNT	DNT	DNT	DNT	DNT

¹⁵⁸ Another case which has come to light is of the Kanjar community from Berasiya Tehsil of Bhopal where caste certificates are not being made due to errors in the land records of the community. The community is recognized by two caste names i.e. Bijori and Kanjar which is also a case of confusions for the government officials. See Picture 11.

¹⁵⁹ Notification No:SSP/122016/620981/A dated 24.10.2017, Deptt. of Social Justice and Empowerment, Govt. of Gujarat.

¹⁶⁰ SNT refers to the Semi-Nomadic tribe whose migration is temporary and have some permanent base of residence. For the Rajasthan list of the DNT/NT/SNT see Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of Rajasthan official website: <http://www.sje.rajasthan.gov.in>

On studying the socio-cultural and religious traits of these communities we see that they follow similar practices. They have matrimonial and social relationships with their counterparts in the other states, but they are recognized differently both under the reserved category and DNT, NT & SNT lists. This difference doesn't benefit these communities uniformly across different parts of the nation. The disparities in categorization have led to inequality within the same community. The last two commissions - Renke and Idate commissions setup for their study recommended uniformity of the social categorization but nothing has materialized so far.

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STATUS OF CITIZENSHIP & ENTITLEMENT DOCUMENTS

One of the major issues faced by the DNT communities concerns the citizenship documents¹⁶¹ to claim their identity, citizenship rights and avail benefits of the government schemes. Even after more than seven decades of India's independence there exists no socio-economic caste survey about these communities. Their population is estimated around 10% of the total Indian population standing at a little less than 14 crore in general but they do not find priority in the government records and development schemes. The reason given is that since they have been given reservation (but not all the DNT have) under various categories they are not eligible for a separate quota. Due to lack of enumeration and study regarding these communities they do not find attention in rehabilitation programs of the government. At the community level also due to illiteracy and poverty many are unaware of the various welfare schemes meant for them. Thus cases of harassment and extortion of commission by the middlemen to file their applications for various welfare schemes are common.

3.a Citizenship Identity Documents

It has been noticed that due to lack of citizenship documents, the DNT communities are not able to avail basic entitlement facilities like Ration Card, Job Card, BPL Card, health facilities in hospitals, caste certificates, domicile certificates, etc. During the protest and debate on the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and National Register of Citizens (NRC) Bill one of the concerns raised was regarding the DNTs among whom all the members do not have citizenship documents to prove their identity. It was feared that they might end up in the detention centres. Being less literate they could not also appeal their case in the court. In the present Covid pandemic situation also, people who do not have such documents may find it a problem to register themselves for vaccination (mainly the Aadhar Card).

¹⁶¹ It mainly refers to the Birth Certificate which entails one to procure other documents like Voter ID, Aadhar Card, Domicile Certificate, etc. proving the nationality.

During the survey and audio-videos documentation it was noticed that many among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Nat community are not able to admit their children in schools due to lack of citizenship documents. In the present time to get admission in schools there is a requirement for Aadhar Card of the parents along with the Date of Birth Certificate of the child for online registration system for Class-I standard. Many parents do not have these documents, thus their children remain out of school. The illiterate and ignorant parents also do not appeal to higher authorities for such issues.

The youth leader of Gadia Luhar community in Jaipur, Heeralal states that 40% members of the community do not have domicile certificates and Aadhar Cards in the city like Jaipur which is the state capital of Rajasthan. They have represented this matter to the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment a number of times. Due to the absence of these, many children of their community could not get admission and remain out of school (see Image-10 below). Due to the lack of these documents they are also not able to procure housing facility under the Bombay Yojana.¹⁶² They also could not get Rations Cards to avail facilities of the government PDS system. The case is similar with the nomadic tribes who migrate for most of the year like the Kalbelia and Nat communities under study.

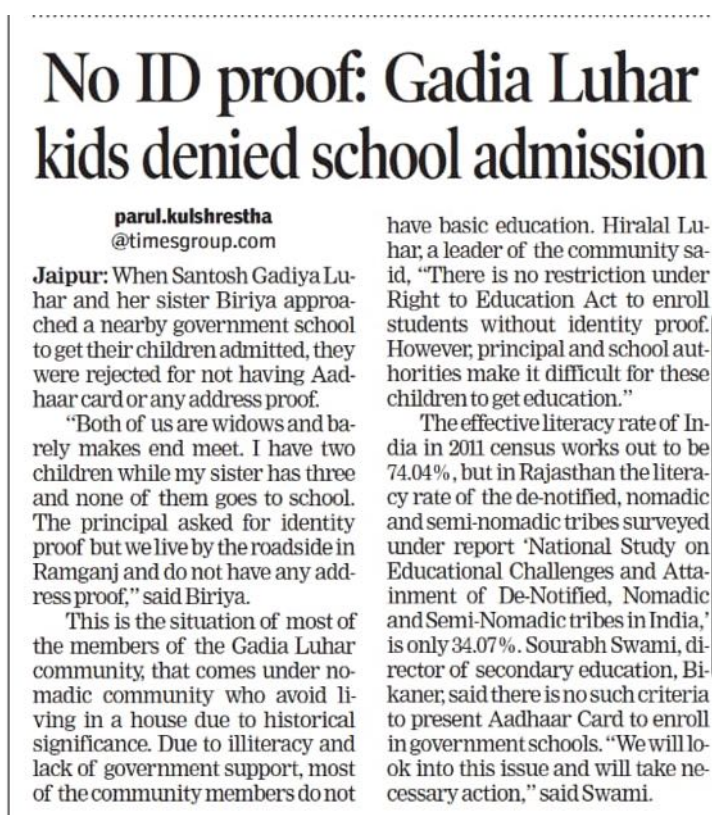


Image-10: Times of India, 25th Sept. 2020, Jaipur, Rajasthan

¹⁶² Different states have different housing schemes for socio-economic backward classes along with those covered under the flagship mission of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana by the Government of India.

In the present world of digitization procurement of Identity documents are necessary. These are required for opening of bank or post office accounts, to harness benefits of the government health schemes, get work under the MGNREGA schemes, food security under the PDS, housing under the rural and urban development schemes, to file claims over the place of residence, domicile certificates, etc. Most of the DNT communities have to prove their identities when intercepted for interrogation by police or forest officials. The young generation of the community necessarily requires them for finding new ways of livelihood in urban areas. Sometime the employer gets them deposited for police verification of the employers. The surveys have enumerated the status of such documents with the DNT communities.

3a.1 Voter ID Card

A Voter ID Card authorizes the person to execute his/her voting rights in our democratic Nation. Every person above the age of 18 years is eligible to get a Voter ID and execute his/her right in the elections as a constitutional right. The Election Commission of India is authorised to issue Voter IDs and revise the Electoral Roll from time to time. Individuals can check their status in the National Voter's Service Portal of the Election Commission (see <https://www.nvsp.in>).

While analysing the data of Voter ID cards among the DNT communities it is noticeable that this is the one document which is available with most of the community members who attain the age of eighteen years. The reason is simple that it is necessarily required by both the DNT adult members whenever interrogated by the police during their movement and migration for identification and investigation.¹⁶³ Another reason is that these communities are easy vote banks for the politicians and local representative (Sarpanch or ward members of municipalities) which can be easily influenced by money, power and liquor. Thus they ensure that the eligible members of the community get their Voter ID cards made. Apart from this the civil society organizations working with these communities also ensure that they have such documents to execute their constitutional rights and avail benefits of the government schemes. Thus the data shows a fair percentage among DNT communities having Voter IDs (see Table 3.i).

On detailed analysis of this data on the basis of the rural and urban distinction it is noticed that the rural population of DNTs is in better possession of such documents as compared to the urban one. In villages these communities are in close contact with the Sarpanch who

¹⁶³ According to one of the surveyors Renu Chhari from Morena, in the year 2006, the Maharashtra government conducted raids in the dance bars of Mumbai to check whether the girls working there were above eighteen years of age or not. That time the Bedia women rushed to their native places to get their Voter IDs made for age verification. Since then most of the Bedia adult have Voter IDs made.

directly benefits from their votes thus s/he ensures that every member of these communities have Voter IDs. Whereas in urban areas they keep shifting in search of livelihood from one place to another and so they are not in close contact with the local representatives like the ward members of municipalities, thus many among them lack such documents. In Annexure 3.1, one may see that the percentage of Gadia Luhar having Voter IDs in rural areas for all the eligible members is 73.4%, while those households in which only some of the members are having it is 25.9%. This situation of the Gadia Luhar reverses in the urban area where only 24.4% households have Voter IDs for all the members and 70.2% households have it for some of the members. Still 5.5% households among the Gadia Luhar do not have Voter IDs for any of the members (see Annexure 3.1).

Table 3.i - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Voter ID Cards for the eligible members (total of rural & urban):

Type of Document	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Voter ID Card									
Yes, for all members	32.0	91.0	44.8	33.1	35.2	29.4	31.9	25.5	41.0
For some members	68.0	8.0	51.7	63.5	62.9	68.5	63.8	73.8	56.9
None	0.0	1.0	3.5	3.3	1.9	2.1	4.4	0.7	2.1

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.1

Among those who are having Voter ID cards, 98.1% are using their right to vote in various elections in rural and urban areas. This percentage in urban areas is higher than the rural areas (see Annexure 3.2). While deciding to vote for the candidate 75% take decision of their own, 20% voting depends on the decision taken by the community leaders, rest of the people votes under pressure.

3a.2 Aadhar Card

In recent time Aadhar Cards have become a necessary document to avail government schemes including bank accounts, loans, scholarships, pensions, Job Cards for NREGA and benefits of health facilities. In the recent Pandemic situation an Aadhar card is required for testing and vaccination. The average survey data of these tribes shows that among the 75.9% households every member has an Aadhar Card while among 22% households a few members of the family have this document. This document has become mandatory in practice for every age group.

When we examine this data more closely we see that among the Nat and Sansi community the percentage is very low, i.e. only 55.7% and 54.6% households respectively have Aadhar Cards for every individual of the family. While in another 42.6% and 44.3% of households among the Nat and Sansi communities respectively, a few members of the house have this voter identity document (see Table 3.i). Bachhada community shows good availability of Ration cards but in reality 10% population said having no Aadhar Card. The survey skipped accounting such households.

There is a great disparity when we segregate this data on the basis of urban and rural population of these communities. The average data shows that the rural population is more likely to hold these documents as compared to the rural. 84.8% households have Aadhar Card for all the family members in rural area while 12.8% households have the document for some members. 2.4% households do not have Aadhar Card. In urban area only 60.6% households have Aadhar Card for all the family members, 38% households have it for some members and 1.4% households don't have any Aadhar Cards. There are variations too when we look at this data within the community on a micro level (see Annexure 3.3).

Table 3.ii - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Aadhar Cards (total of rural + urban):

Type of Document	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Aadhar Card									
Yes, for all members	93.2	97.6	71.5	84.5	67.9	55.7	79.2	54.6	75.9
For some members	6.8	2.4	27.3	10.6	27.7	42.6	17.9	44.3	22.0
None	0.0	0.0	1.2	4.9	4.4	1.7	2.9	1.1	2.1

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.3

To provide quick and transparent credit using the direct benefit transfer (DBT) initiative under various schemes, particularly pension, scholarships and loans, insurance, subsidies, etc. Government of India launched Jan Dhan-Aadhar-Mobile penetration (JAM) for financial inclusion objectives on 15th August 2015. It helped the government to remove 38 million duplicate LPG connections, 27.5 million fake ration cards, and saved 10% cost on the government wage bill.¹⁶⁴ Therefore the possession of Aadhar Card is mandatory for everyone. But many discrepancies exist when we compare Voter IDs with the data of the Aadhar Cards (see Picture 7 to 10).

¹⁶⁴ Report published in Financial Express, New Delhi, 28 June 2018. See https://uidai.gov.in/images/news/JAM_Jan-Dhan-Aadhaar-mobile-penetration-driving-Indias-digitisation-FE.pdf

3a.3 Birth Certificate

In the case of Birth Certificates we see that the average number of households in which all the members have them is only 19.3%, while in 58% households, only some of the family members have them and in 22.8% households none of the family members have Birth Certificates. On further analysing this data in rural pockets it is noticed that the percentage of households not having Birth Certificates is higher, i.e. 25.1% which is mainly due to non-institutional deliveries at home (see Annexure 3.4).

Having no Birth Certificate means no admission of children in schools. Thus this data could also be directly related to the high rate of illiteracy¹⁶⁵ (see Annexure 4.1) and caste certificates (see Annexure 3.9). Due to the illiteracy of parents, many a time they are unaware of the date of birth of their children. When the requirement arises they have to approach the village Sarpanch to provide both a certificate and a date of birth. In cities if it has been an institutional delivery then they get a certificate from the hospital, which they submit to the local municipality for the Birth Certificate.

The process of getting the Birth Certificate is tedious, the illiterate parents particularly find it tough. Thus among the Kalbelia we see that the percentage of households having no Birth Certificates is 44.1%. This is due to a number of reasons, i.e. high percentage of non-institutional deliveries¹⁶⁶, illiteracy of the parents, discrimination by the local representatives as they have less strength in the village and are voiceless, and also because parents are not interested in sending their children to schools for which this document is required. Similarly among the Pardhi community also because of the non-institutional deliveries and high rate of illiteracy, 29.5% households do not have Birth Certificates. See Table No. 3.iii below:

Table 3.iii - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Birth Certificates:

Type of Document	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Birth Certificate									
Yes, for all members	6.5	67.8	11.1	17.6	14.0	7.7	9.2	17.0	19.3
For some members	76.6	16.6	70.6	38.3	59.2	73.2	61.4	73.4	58.0
None	16.9	15.6	18.3	44.1	26.8	19.2	29.5	9.6	22.8

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.4

¹⁶⁵ Among the Bedia, Bachhada & Sansi communities.

¹⁶⁶ According to the Niti Ayog data of 2015-16 (NFHS-4), the national average of institutional child deliveries is 78.9%. In Rajasthan it is 84%, in Madhya Pradesh it is 80.8% and in Gujarat it is 88.7% which are higher than the national average. But when we see this data among the nomadic communities the percentage is low. Communities like the Kalbelia, Kanjar and Pardhi are reluctant to go to the hospitals. They prefer child delivery at home under the supervision of elderly ladies.

3b. Entitlement Documents

As stated earlier that due to the lack of citizenship documents (mainly birth certificates, Voter ID and Aadhar Card), the DNT communities are not able to harness the benefits of various government welfare schemes like food security rights, health facilities, loans, employment under MGNREGA, scholarships, old age pension, domicile certificate, bank accounts, etc. To avail these welfare schemes one needs entitlement documents which are only made on the basis of citizenship documents like the Voter ID, Aadhar Card and Birth Certificate. Below is a description about the various entitlement documents and their status among the DNT communities.

3b.1 Ration Card

Ration Cards are part of India's social security program to benefit low income groups and poor families as identified by the state government. Such households are eligible to purchase subsidised food grain from the Public Distribution System (PDS) under the National Food Security Act (NFSA). For many in rural areas Ration Cards still serve as a common form of identity document. In recent time the central government has changed its categorisation with the implementation of NFSA. Earlier there were three categories i.e. Above Poverty Line (APL), Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY). Recently these three categories have been changed to only two, i.e. Priority Household (PHH) and Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY). The categorization of families under these different kind of Ration Cards is decided by the state government based on socio-economic criteria set up by them (it varies from state to state). Accordingly the amount of ration at subsidized rates is allotted to them.

During the last year's (2020) lockdown due to Covid it came to light that many among the poor migrant workers did not receive ration despite being very poor because they did not have Ration Cards. Due to this there were cases of starvation deaths also.¹⁶⁷ Those who had Ration Cards got extra grains which were vital during the Covid-19 pandemic. The government accepted the danger of death due to starvation and provided food grains to those needy families also who did not have Ration Cards. According to the National Food Security Act (NFSA) total number of beneficiaries covered by the Ration Cards are 75.5 Crore, and total Ration Cards issued are 22.5 Crore.¹⁶⁸ But the ground realities are different. The most affected communities during the lockdown were the DNTs who majorly work in the unorganized labour sector. They were stuck in their working locations and couldn't access the PDS because of being registered in a different place.

¹⁶⁷ Business Standard, New Delhi, August 25, 2020

¹⁶⁸ See <https://nfsa.gov.in/public/nfsadashboard/PublicRCDashboard.aspx>

The data analysis shows that 11.1% households do not have Ration Cards (see Table 3.iv). This percentage is highest among the Pardhi community at 46.4% because of migration to the new place. The present generation has not been able to procure a new one. The old Ration card exists with the parents or grandparents even after separation of the family. This compares to the Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar and Nat communities, 7.3%, 13.1% and 5.1% respectively who do not have Rations Cards. These communities also remain in migration and are not able to harness the full benefits of the PDS system. Many among them have Ration Cards but could not avail of their benefits for being at a different locations while in migrating in search of livelihood. There are also discrepancies in the distribution of rations since the literacy and awareness level regarding the food security is much lower among the DNT communities.

Table 3.iv - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Ration Cards:

Type of Document	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Ration Cards									
Yes, including all members	92.5	86.2	75.9	86.6	88.2	76.2	44.0	77.1	79.8
Yes, including some members	6.8	2.1	16.9	0.3	1.9	18.7	9.7	19.6	9.1
None	0.7	11.8	7.3	13.1	10.0	5.1	46.4	3.3	11.1

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.5

The Niti Ayog's Report published in December-2016¹⁶⁹ clearly states that the BPL Card holders have substantially lower education. This therefore concerns the DNT communities.

Apart from literacy, discrepancies have been noticed in categorization of the Ration Cards. The community which is in the majority, influential and close to the local representative is able to procure the Below Poverty Line (BPL) Cards and Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) which are intended for the poorest amongst the poor of the BPL households. These cards have maximum benefits apart from getting free rations. The poor DNT families who are in real need of them generally do not get them. The inferior quality of ration distributed to such communities is also a matter of concern. A pilferage of 50% ration from the PDS has been reported in the above mentioned Niti Ayog's report. This mainly affects the communities who are illiterate, live in remote areas, and are discriminated against by the dominant communities of the villages and by the Fair Price Shops (FPS) owners.

¹⁶⁹ Development Monitoring and Evaluation Office (DMEO) Report No. 233 titled '*Evaluation Study on Role of Public Distribution System in Shaping Household and Nutritional Security India*', December-2016, pg. 25-26.

Numerous research studies across the world shows that the poorer households spend a greater proportion of their income on food (Brown and Deaton, 1972; Ritson and Hutchins, 1995). This is also used as an indicator of poverty. This observation is recognized as Engel's law,¹⁷⁰ which demonstrates that, 'as incomes rise, both within a country and across countries, expenditure on food increases while expenditure on other things increases even more, so that the share of total income spent on food declines'. Therefore in a developing country like India where 60% of the population lives below the poverty line¹⁷¹ one can imagine that most of the income of the economically weaker communities like the DNT goes into buying food. The data on household expenditure also shows that the major amount of family income is spent on food, i.e. 76% (see Table 7.v).

Recently the central government has announced the 'One Nation One Ration Card Yojana' scheme launched by PM Modi on 30th June 2020. With the help of this scheme, the beneficiaries would be able to collect their entitled food grain from any Electronic Point of Sale (ePOS) enabled Fair Price Shops (FPS). It is projected that once the scheme is implemented by all states and UTs, it will benefit approx. 80 Cr. beneficiaries. The scheme aims to make the PDS system more flexible and accessible for all the beneficiaries specially the migrants by implementing it in March 2021 across the nation. According to the Press Information Bureau report¹⁷² stating the press brief by Finance Minister Smt. Nirmala Sitharaman, 'This scheme will enable a migrant beneficiary to access the Public Distribution System from any Fair Price Shop in the country (Inter-state portability introduced in 20 States). All the states and UTs will complete full PDS automation by March 2021'. Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh have joined 'One Nation One Ration Card Yojana' initiative along with other states of the country.

With the implementation of this scheme it is believed that those among the DNT communities who have Ration cards will greatly benefit. But then there are questions regarding the availability of network signals for functioning of the technology. Since ePOS machines are based on biometric identification there are problems that have persisted in the past also. Most of the DNT communities are involved in hard labour work. Their finger impressions are not clear, thus they do not get the ration if the machine doesn't read it clearly. During the COVID-19 period the government started another facility to approve the beneficiaries through OTP on mobile phones. Again the problem is of network and many poor do not have mobile phones. Many among them frequently changes their numbers when the cellular companies announces their discounted offers. Thus digital technology still

¹⁷⁰ Proposed by the statistician Ernst Engel in 1857

¹⁷¹ World Bank-determined poverty line of \$3.2 a day for lower-middle-income countries.

¹⁷² Press Information Bureau, National Media Centre, 14.05.2020. See <https://pmmodiyojana.in/one-nation-one-ration-card/>

remains a challenge among many, particularly the elders in whose names the Ration cards exists.

3b.2 Job Card (MGNREGA)

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 was introduced 'to provide legal guarantee for at least 100 days of employment every year at minimum wages for at least one able-bodied person in every rural poor household. To achieve this objective the National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill was introduced in the Parliament' in the year 2004.¹⁷³ At present the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) covers 2,69,117 Gram Panchayats with 15.1 Cr. Job Cards. But the active Job Cards stand at only 9.12 Cr. covering 14.06 crore workers. The approved labour budget for the FY 2020-21 was Rs. 385.7 Cr.¹⁷⁴

The data analysis of this survey for Job Cards need to be analysed only in context of the rural population as MGNREGA is meant for the rural areas. The data shows that on an average 42.2% DNT communities living in rural areas do not have Job Cards. This percentage is very high among the Pardhi community surveyed in Madhya Pradesh standing at 85.2%. Among the Bachhada and Kalbelia community, it is 53.2% and 54.8% respectively. This shows that many eligible members do not have Job Cards for a variety of reasons. The lack of one could be due to lack of awareness of basic citizenship rights, illiteracy, discrimination by the dominant community, corruption by the local representatives and panchayat officials and migration or dislike for hard labour required by the MGNREGA projects.

Table 3.v - Percentage of households having Job Cards under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA):

Type of Documents	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Job Card (NREGA)									
No. of households surveyed in rural area	278	216	143	230	314	43	142	74	1440
Percentage of households surveyed in rural areas	19.31	15	9.93	15.97	21.81	2.99	9.86	5.14	63.2

¹⁷³ The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (42 of 2005). See <https://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/home.aspx>

¹⁷⁴ See NREGA portal http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all_lv1_details_dashboard_new.aspx?Fin_Year=2021-2022&Digest=B5DSyTB/eSUSkZd2BpGzbA

Yes, for all members (able-bodied above the age of 18 years)	4.3	41.2	35.0	38.3	19.4	4.7	0.7	4.1	21.3
For some members (able-bodied above the age of 18 years)	42.5	15.3	48.3	7.0	63.1	55.8	14.1	66.2	36.6
None	53.2	43.5	16.8	54.8	17.5	39.5	85.2	29.7	42.2

Note: Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.6. Above data should be seen only in context of the rural households.

One observation concerning the non-issuance of the Job Cards by local Panchayats among the DNT communities and especially among the Pardhi, where 85.2% of households do not have Job Card is their remote locations. Pardhi living in rural area are forced to live outside the village because of the stigma of criminality. Because they are remotely located and because of their migration in search of livelihood many of them missed the survey for being included under the MGNREGA (year 2011) list.¹⁷⁵

Pardhi are looked down upon by the local people including the Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary who are responsible for allotting Job Cards and assigning work under the MGNREGA scheme. The strength of the Pardhi population in villages is also less as compared to other communities, thus politically they remain insignificant to the local representatives. Since MGNREGA is a community work where people of all castes and religions come together to work on village development projects, no one likes to work with a Pardhi or sit with them at the MGNREGA site due to caste discrimination and the stigma of criminality. Thus hiding their identities they go to far off places to work in mining or to do agriculture work. Some members of the Pardhi are said to be still involved in theft and robbery and so dislike laborious work like digging pits and moving clay. Apart from these reasons there is also a lack of awareness regarding entitlement documents and government schemes. All this results in least participation of the Pardhi community in the government welfare schemes.

Among the Kalbelia 54.8% members do not have Job Cards. The major reason is their migration during most of the year. When the first survey for job cards happened in the year 2011, only a few members who were settled in villages got it. Now when the remaining ones approach the Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary they are not entertained. Similar to the Pardhi, the Kalbelia also have less strength in villages and live on the outskirts due to caste and professional discrimination. They are not welcomed by the locals and Panchayat officials together thus remain non-participant in the MGNREGA works.

¹⁷⁵ Socio-Economic Caste Census 2011 (SECC 2011)

Similarly 53.2% of the Bachhada do not have Job Cards. Due to ignorance of the community many of their Job Cards remain uncollected from the Gram Panchayat office.¹⁷⁶ Cases of corruption have also been noticed where the MGNERGA works are done with machines like excavators. The beneficiaries of the Bachhada community are then bribed or offered liquor to get the money released on the name of their Job Cards. After paying some for the machinery charges the rest is pocketed by them. It has also been observed that many Bachhada are involved in the sex trade and thefts outside their region, thus, like the Pardhi, they are not in the habit of doing laborious hard work for MGNERGA.

The Kanjar and Bedia families who are involved in the sex trade also avoid participating in MGNERGA works since they are looked down on by other communities. Both men and women face discrimination by the villagers and Panchayat officials together. Thus those families which have a fair income through other means avoid doing labour oriented work under the MGNERGA.

3b.3 BPL Card

In July 2013, the Planning Commission released poverty data for 2011-12 based on the Tendulkar Expert Group (2009) headed by Suresh Tendulkar for estimation of poverty line. In the report the number of poor in the country was pegged at 269.8 million i.e. 21.9% of the population. After this, no official poverty estimates in India have been released.¹⁷⁷ The limit for the poverty line set up was estimated at Rs. 816 per capita per month for rural areas and Rs. 1,000 per capita per month for urban areas. This is based on the per capita consumption expenditure criteria. The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) is authorised to conduct regular surveys on consumption expenditure by households to list 'Below the Poverty Line (BPL)' among them.

In the United Nation's agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the first two are aimed at 'ending poverty in all forms and hunger' by 2030.¹⁷⁸ It is an understood fact that the DNT communities have been historically living on the fringes of society being landless, having no basic facilities or means of decent livelihood. Due to poverty many feel compelled to indulge in wrong means of livelihood. Thus a major initiative is required to elevate these communities from poverty by providing them decent livelihoods. This is also in line with the SDG goals.

¹⁷⁶ As stated by the surveyor.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. Seema Gaur & Dr. N Srinivasa Rao, 'Poverty Measurements in India: A Status Update', Working Paper No. 1/2020, Ministry of Rural Development, September 2020, pg. 7. See https://rural.nic.in/sites/default/files/WorkingPaper_Poverty_DoRD_Sept_2020.pdf

¹⁷⁸ SGD's Goal No. 1 is for 'End Poverty in all forms everywhere' and No. 2 is for End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture'. See <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

Under the present survey the average percentage of the DNT communities having no BPL cards is 51.7% though being very poor in comparison to other communities. The allotment of BPL cards is at the mercy of Sub District Magistrate who constitute a survey committee to verify poor families eligible for BPL Cards. The BPL survey has certain economic criteria to judge financial status of the families. But there are discrepancies in allotment of the BPL cards due to political interference and corruption in the system. Thus the eligible candidates do not get the BPL Cards to avail its benefits.

The data shows that 75.4% members of the Pardhi community do not have BPL Cards. Near to this percentage is the Kalbelia community (71.1%). On accessing the financial status of these two communities one realizes that many of them have given up their traditional means of livelihood and are helpless to find decent jobs to meet family expenditure. Both the Pardhi and Kalbelia have started working in mines away from their native lands. But this does not earn them enough to meet the family expenses.

On further investigation it has been found that many families among the Pardhi, who have BPL cards, find they are non-functional and inactive. This is due to discrepancies in name spellings in Aadhar Cards which do not match with the BPL Cards entry which have thus become non-active (see Picture 7 to 10). The community is found to be ignorant also about most of the entitlement documents. The percentage of absence of BPL cards is also high (61.6%) among the Bedia community because they avoid visiting the government officials finding their behaviour negative and non-cooperative. Similar is the case with the Kanjars among whom 61.1% do not have BPL cards. Among the Sansi also 50.2% do not have BPL Cards. As compared to the financial status of the Bedia, Kanjar and Sansi communities, rest of the DNT communities under study are financially poorer. More than 80% among them deserve BPL Cards,¹⁷⁹ but the government officials are unaware of them. Among the Bachhada community it has been reported that there has been no survey for BPL Card for many years. Thus the new families are not being listed. But a fair amount of members among them have BPL cards. This is due to the long-time efforts of local NGOs working with them.

Table 3.vi - Percentage distribution of households with possession of BPL Cards:

Type of Documents	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
BPL Card									
Yes, for all members	60.4	32.2	30.8	10.9	14.6	30.6	12.1	30.6	27.6
For some members	21.6	6.2	32.3	17.9	24.3	27.7	12.6	19.2	20.6
None	17.6	61.6	36.9	71.1	61.1	41.7	75.4	50.2	51.7

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.7

¹⁷⁹ This fact could also be understood from the Income data of DNT communities (see Table 7.iv) where income of more than 80% population of the communities under study is less than 1 lakh annually.

On further looking at this data in a rural-urban divide we see a great difference. For example there is a very high percentage (91.8%) of Bedia in urban areas not having BPL cards as compared to 51.4% of them in rural areas. This is also due to their better financial condition in the urban areas. 85.2% of Kalbelia in rural areas do not have BPL cards as compared to 38.4% in urban areas. This position is reversed among the Kanjar where 60.2% of their households do not have them in rural areas as compared to 100% in urban areas. But this has to be also correlated with their number of households surveyed in rural-urban areas. Kanjar have only seven households in urban area in the survey. Among the Pardhi 90.9% do not have BPL cards which is a great disparity although having a high concentration in rural areas. BPL card mainly helps to avail free health facilities and food ration.

According to the Planning Commission the official estimate of Poverty in 2011-12 based on the Tendulkar Committee approach was 21.92%. After this, no estimates have been officially released.¹⁸⁰ But the COVID pandemic has aggravated the situation of poverty hitting the poor, unorganized labour, migrants, and mainly the DNTs and NTs. In a recent article titled 'Mass poverty is back in India' written by Richard Mahapatra published in DownToEarth (Wednesday 07 April 2021) he states that according to the World Bank data, 'the number of poor in India (with income of \$2 per day or less in purchasing power parity) has more than doubled from 60 million to 134 million in just a year due to the pandemic-induced recession. This means, India is back in the situation of being called a “country of mass poverty” after 45 years'.¹⁸¹ The article further quotes the United Nations estimate that, 'the number of poor in India to be 364 million in 2019, or 28 per cent of the population. All the estimated new poor due to the pandemic are in addition to this'.¹⁸²

Before the Covid pandemic, during the Union Budget 2020 presented by the NDA government, Niti Aayog released SDG Index 2019 on December 27, 2019 stating that, 'more Indians have fallen into poverty, hunger and income inequality in the past two years. This is after a remarkable reduction in poverty between 2005-06 and 2015-16'.¹⁸³ It came as a shock that poverty, hunger and income inequality is up in 22 to 25 States and UTs. It has indicated India's alarming fall across major SDG indicators like poverty, hunger and income inequality. From this one can guess the situation of DNT communities who are historically economically poor. Therefore the government needs to conduct a fresh survey to assess the

¹⁸⁰ Dr. Seema Gaur & Dr. N Srinivasa Rao, '*Poverty Measurements in India: A Status Update*', Working Paper No. 1/2020, Ministry of Rural Development, September 2020, pg. 15. See https://rural.nic.in/sites/default/files/WorkingPaper_Poverty_DoRD_Sept_2020.pdf

¹⁸¹ See <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/governance/mass-poverty-is-back-in-india-76348>

¹⁸² See <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/governance/mass-poverty-is-back-in-india-76348>

¹⁸³ Prasanna Mohanty, Business Standard, January 9, 2020. See <https://www.businesstoday.in/union-budget-2020/news/budget-2020-niti-aayog-shocker-poverty-hunger-income-inequality-up-in-22-to-25-states-uts-poor-indians/story/393404.html>

poverty situation among these communities and provide them with BPL/APL cards to avail their benefits.

3b.4 Health Insurance

The Prime Minister of India announced Ayushman Bharat health scheme on 23rd September, 2018 in Ranchi, Jharkhand, on the recommendation of the National Health Policy 2017. It aimed to achieve the vision of Universal Health Coverage (UHC) to meet Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and its underlining commitment, which is to "leave no one behind." This scheme aims to benefit 50 crore beneficiaries that form the bottom 40% of the Indian population.¹⁸⁴ It covers the households listed in Socio-Economic Caste Census 2011 (SECC 2011) based on the deprivation and occupational criteria of rural and urban areas respectively.

Ayushman Bharat has two inter-related components, i.e. Health and Wellness Centres (HWCs) and Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY). Earlier PM-JAY was known as Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) which was launched in 2008. Ayushman Bharat PM-JAY is said to be the largest health insurance scheme in the world which aims to provide health cover of Rs. 5 lakhs (cashless) per family per year for secondary and tertiary care hospitalization to over 10.74 crores poor and vulnerable families (i.e. 40% Indian population). For registration for this scheme an Aadhar Card is mandatory required.

The household survey data shows that 58.3% members of the DNT community are not covered under the Health Insurance schemes in three states under study. This percentage is highest among the Kalbelia (76%) and Pardi (74.9%) due to illiteracy and lack of awareness about such schemes (see Table 3.vii). This situation is more serious in the rural areas where 86.1% Kalbelia and 91.6% Pardhi are without any Health Insurance (see Annexure 3.8).

Table 3.vii - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Health Insurance schemes:

Type of Documents	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Health Insurance									
Yes, for all members	6.5	30.5	15.4	2.7	8.1	9.4	8.2	17.3	12.3
For some members	35.6	8.0	47.7	21.3	26.5	42.1	16.9	34.7	29.4
None	57.9	61.6	36.9	76.0	65.4	48.5	74.9	48.0	58.3

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.8

¹⁸⁴ See Gov. of India's Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana website - <https://pmjay.gov.in/about/pmjay>

After the launch of PM-JAY health insurance scheme, some of the states individually adopted it or merged with the existing schemes. The Govt. of Rajasthan rolled it out on 9th January 2019 with the name Ayushman Bharat Mahatama Gandhi Rajasthan Swasthya Bima Yojana (ABMGRSBY). Prior to this there was Bhamashah Swasthya Bima Yojana. Under ABMGRSBY the share of the state government and centre was decided to be 40:60 respectively. More than one crore families were covered under it.¹⁸⁵ Recently the state government has relaunched another health insurance scheme w.e.f. 1st May 2021 which will also cover the COVID cases. It is named the Chief Minister Chiranjeevi Health Insurance Scheme. It will provide free insurance to families covered under BPL, NFSA and SECC. This time the contractual workers, small and marginal farmers can also avail the scheme for free. Other families can avail the benefits of this scheme by paying an annual premium of Rs. 850.

Similarly in Madhya Pradesh Ayushman Bharat insurance health scheme was launched across the state in multiple phases beginning from 15.08.2018. It covered all the districts by 23.09.2018 covering 1.17 crore families (amounting to 2,42,59,669 beneficiaries).¹⁸⁶ Its benefits are similar to the PM-JAY launched by the centre. To get benefits of the scheme very few households have registered themselves. Three of the major DNT communities surveyed in MP, i.e. 57.9% of Bachhada, 61.6% of Bedia and 74.9% of Pardhi do not have health insurance cards. The reason is common, i.e. lack of awareness, illiteracy and errors in the ID documents (see Picture 7 to 10).

In Gujarat, the Mulhyamantri Amrutum (MA) Yojana started on 4th Sept. 2012, and was then replaced by Mukhyamantri Amrutam Vatsalya (MAV) on 15th August 2014 which later merged with Ayushman Bharat PM-JAY on 1st March 2019 covering little less than 76 Lakh households.

After looking at the health insurance schemes of the three states it is clear that there are random changes to the name of the health insurance schemes from time to time but little change in the substance. This leads to confusion among the less literate and aware people. The DNT community members are not able to perceive the benefits of these schemes. For registration of new members they have to approach the local E-Mitra kiosks where commission (in lieu of service and stationary charges) is charged from them.¹⁸⁷ As mentioned above, there are errors in Aadhar cards thus many community members are unable to register. On comparing Table 3.ii & Table 3.vii one can see that 97.9%¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ See https://pmjay.gov.in/hi/rajasthan_profile

¹⁸⁶ See <https://pmjay.gov.in/madhya-pradesh-profile>

¹⁸⁷ It has been made free for Chiranjeevi Health Insurance Scheme.

¹⁸⁸ This doesn't mean that all members of the family have Aadhar Card. In the Table 3.ii one could see that every member of the 75.9% households have Aadhar Card, but in 22% households only few members have Aadhar Cards. 2.1% households have no Aadhar Card.

households claim to have Aadhar Cards but the DNT households having Health Insurance stands at only 41.7%. This percentage is further lower in rural areas i.e. 38.2%¹⁸⁹ (see Annexure 3.8). This shows that even after having Aadhar Card and other ID proof, only some are aware about the different health insurance schemes due to illiteracy. This problem becomes more pressing with the inter-state migrants as they are not entertained in other states. There is a requirement for universal health policy.

In the COVID period it has been noticed that private hospitals which have been empanelled under the health insurance schemes have turned down COVID patients. This is injustice for the poor DNT communities who cannot afford this costly treatment. Where most of the government hospitals were full with patients the private hospitals shut their doors for the poor.¹⁹⁰

3b.5 Caste Certificate

Article 341 and 342 of the Constitution of India defines which are the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled tribes (ST) respectively in relation to any State or Union Territory. The criteria for identifying the communities as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was laid by the Government on the basis of the references, observations, findings and recommendations contained in the report of the Lokur Committee in 1965.¹⁹¹

In 1979 the Mandal Commission was established to identify the socially and educationally backward classes. The commission reported 52% of India's population to be backward based on the caste, economic and social indicators. Thus the commission recommended that the members of Other Backward Classes (OBC) be granted reservation to 27% jobs under the central government and public sector undertakings, like the SC and ST. It was implemented in 1992. Reservation rights of the OBC are safeguarded under Article 340 of the Constitution of India. At present the total SC, ST & OBC reservation amounts to 49%.

Caste certificates are made on the basis of place of permanent residence, because the status of a particular caste /tribe may differ from state to state (see Table 2.i of Social Categories of the communities). For example the Sansi falls under the OBC list in Gujarat but are in the SC category in Rajasthan. Similarly the Pardhi community has different status in different districts within the same state (see Map-3). The maximum population of the Pardhi

¹⁸⁹ Only 61.7% claims to have health insurance in rural areas and 52.3% in urban areas claim for the same.

¹⁹⁰ See report published by Republic TV on 17th May 2021 - <https://www.republicworld.com/india-news/general-news/rajasthans-cashless-medicaid-scheme-invalid-in-pvt-hospitals-amid-covid-ground-report.html>

¹⁹¹ The Advisory Committee on the Revision of the Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was constituted by the Department of Social Security, Government of India in June 1965. B.N. Lokur, then the law secretary to the central government, was its chairperson.

community in MP is in Bhopal and Sehore districts, where they have been categorised under the General category. Before the year 2002 they were listed in ST category but later removed from it. The reservation benefits could be availed only in the native state where the district authority alone as authorised by the Ministry of Home affairs is competent to issue the caste certificate.¹⁹² Thus many nomadic communities are not able to get their Caste Certificates made to nomadism. With the caste certificates one can avail the benefits like - reservation of seats in the Legislatures, reservation in government jobs, fees waived or relaxation of admission norms in schools and colleges, relaxation of upper age limits for applying to specific jobs, etc. It also makes one eligible to apply for scholarships, obtain government subsidies and to register for various schemes provided by the government from time to time. To avail all these benefits a caste certificate is mandatory.

At present, to get the caste certificate one may apply online through E-Mitra or offline by filling up an application at the local Tehsil office. For both they have to upload/submit necessary documents like - Caste certificate of father, an affidavit of Rs. 10, address proof (Ration Card, Voter ID, Kiryanama, telephone bill or electricity bill), Income certificate, Report of the concerned Patwari or Ward Member, Photograph of the applicant and two government employees certificates (for recommendation of the Caste Certificate) in the application form. Looking to the above, the procedure of getting the caste certificate is not easy. Many of the illiterate parents do not know its benefits thus they do not have them. Getting a freshly made caste certificate for the first time for a school going child is a more tough task as that involves a survey by the government officials to verify caste status of the applicant.

A Caste certificate is an important document whether the family members are educated or not as it provides various benefits. If the child is studying in a school, then it becomes an important document to claim scholarships, hostel accommodation and other facilities. The data survey shows that 43.9% DNT communities do not have caste certificates. This percentage of not having the caste certificate is very high among the Gadia Luhar (54.7%), Kalbelia (62.9%), Nat (59.2%) and Pardi (88.4%) who are nomadic in nature, living on the periphery of the villages or in slums of cities (see Table 3.viii). The literacy rate among these communities is also very low (see Table 4.ii). It is noticed that there is a great amount of hesitation and fear in approaching the government officials to get such documents. It depends on the mercy of the government officials to grant them caste certificates. Identification of their caste is also a challenge for the authorities as these communities are divided into many sub-castes and accordingly, they use their surnames (which are generally their clan names) like Samant and Chari among the Bedia, Keshawat and Malawat among

¹⁹² Authorities of one District would not be competent to issue such a certificate in respect of persons belonging to another district.

the Sansi, Gogawat and Guddawat among the Kanjar, etc. Ignorance and cases of losing such documents in flood, fire or during migration have been commonly reported by the Kalbelia and Gadia Luhar community during the survey.

On looking at this data more closely bifurcated between rural and urban, it is noticed that almost 94% Pardhi do not have caste certificate in rural areas, while 97% of Bedia do not have caste certificates in urban areas. Though Gadia Luhar have been listed under OBC which gives them some reservation benefits, 82.1% households of them have no caste certificates. This directly corresponds to their low literacy rate and lack of availability of the birth certificates.

Table 3.viii - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Caste Certificates (SC, ST & OBC):

Type of Documents	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Caste Certificate									
Yes, for all members	11.9	75.4	35.8	8.8	26.8	8.5	3.9	11.4	24.1
For some members	84.9	13.8	9.6	28.3	30.8	32.3	7.7	49.8	32.0
None	3.2	10.7	54.7	62.9	42.4	59.2	88.4	38.8	43.9

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.9

3b.6 Bonafide Certificates

Domicile certificate or a residence certificate is an official document to establish that a person is a resident of a particular State/Union Territory. It is issued by the respective state government/UT administration, generally by the officials of the Revenue department (Tehsildar Officer, District Magistrate, SDO, SDM, Village Administrative Office (VAO), Revenue Inspector (RI) or Circle Officer (CO). To get the certificate made some of the documents required are ID proof, residence proof, date of birth proof, passport size photograph, self-declaration form with the application and an affidavit from Tehsil or court. These requirements may vary from state to state.

Domicile certificates allows the individuals to use all the utilities provided by the government. Individuals from any caste, category or group can apply for this certificate. Generally a Domicile certificate is required to appear for various exams and in availing benefits of the state implemented scholarship schemes. It is also required to obtain reservation benefits in government jobs or educational institutes under the resident quota and in availing loans.

In the survey of DNT communities it has become apparent that 54.4% members does not have Domicile Certificates. This percentage is highest among the Kalbelia (86.9%), Nat (74.9%), Pardhi (64.7%), Sansi (64.9%) and Gadia Luhar (55.2%). This is directly related to their nomadic nature and also most importantly their literacy because it is required to appear in higher education, for availing scholarship and loans, etc. But among the Bedia community of Morena (Madhya Pradesh) and Dholpur (Rajasthan), during the year 2006 & 2011 it was required by the Maharashtra government from the girls working in dance bars. To establish their nativity the girls and boys of the Bedia community had to get them made. So they rushed to their home villages/town and applied for them. Therefore the data shows that a high percentage (85.8%) of the Bedia community possess Domicile certificates. See Table 3.ix below.

Table 3.ix - Percentage distribution households with possession of Domicile Certificates:

Type of Documents	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Bonafide Certificate									
Yes, for all members	7.6	75.1	33.7	7.3	24.9	6.8	6.3	7.4	22.3
For some members	57.9	10.7	11.1	5.8	32.4	18.3	29.0	27.7	23.4
None	34.5	14.2	55.2	86.9	42.7	74.9	64.7	64.9	54.4

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.10

On further looking at this data in a rural-urban context we see that there is a great difference between the Gadia Luhar, Nat and Sansi communities. 89.1% Gadia Luhar do not have Domicile Certificates in urban areas as compared to 7.7% in rural areas. This is due to their temporary migrations which does not establish them at one place to qualify for this certificate. Similarly for the Nat and Sansi communities.

3b.7 Old Age Pension

Following the guidelines of Article 41 of the Indian Constitution, the Government of India launched the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) in the year 1995. This is a Centrally Sponsored Scheme that provides financial assistance to the elderly, widows and persons with disabilities in the form of social pensions. It includes three components: National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), and National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS). In the year 2007, NSAP made it mandatory to include all the members covered under Below Poverty Line (BPL). In the same year NOAPS was renamed as Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS). In the IGNOAPS, contribution of central government is Rs. 200 per head in

which the state has to contribute equal amount or more amount to give a decent level of assistance. It is implemented by the Social Justice and Empowerment Department (SJED).

In Rajasthan, women above the age of 55 years and men above the age of 58 years who are listed under BPL are eligible for the old age pension of Rs. 750 p.m. If their age exceeds 75 years then they become eligible to receive Rs. 1000 p.m. This has been revised recently in Feb. 2019.¹⁹³ In Gujarat the age limit is set uniformly for both men and women. Monthly Assistance of Rs.750/- is provided to elderly people of age 60 to 79 age group and Rs. 1000/- for age more than 80 years.¹⁹⁴ Whereas in Madhya Pradesh it is Rs. 300 for elderly age group 60-79 and Rs. 500 for the aged more than 80 years.

The Pension Parishad put up its report¹⁹⁵ on 1st Oct. 2018 showing that 14 states (including Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh) were providing a pension of Rs. 500 p.m. or less. This is lower than the Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE). Out of the 80 million elderly people eligible for pension only 22.3 million get it, leaving 58 million people with no pension or financial assistance.¹⁹⁶ Thus the Pension Parishad came up with the demand that the government should raise the monthly pension to half of the minimum wage or ₹2,000, or whichever is higher. It also recommended that pensions should be indexed to inflation rate and increased using a method similar to that of dearness allowance (DA).

On analysing the data of the DNT communities (above the age of 60 years)¹⁹⁷ we see that it is only 12.7 % (28 nos.) households in which every eligible family members have pension cards, while in 24% (53 nos.) households only some eligible members have it while in 63.4% (140 nos.) households no pension cards have been allotted to the eligible people.

Table 3.x - Percentage distribution of households with possession of Old Age Pension (Total of Urban + Rural):

Old Age Pension Possession	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Yes, for all eligible members (N)	4	3	16	0	2	1	2	0	28

¹⁹³ Vide Department of Social Justice and Empowerment (DSJE), Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur letter no. F 9(05)(12-II) Pension/DSJE/2014-15/15173 dated 28.02.2019.

¹⁹⁴ See <https://sje.gujarat.gov.in/dsd/Schemes/2208?lang=English>

¹⁹⁵ See Pension in India Report 2018

¹⁹⁶ See <https://blog.nextias.com/state-of-pension-in-india-report-2018>

¹⁹⁷ Note that the age limit for the old age pension in Rajasthan is 55 years for women and 58 years for men while in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh it is 60 years.

Yes, for all eligible members (%)	25.0	15.8	30.8	0.0	3.5	7.7	10.0	0.0	12.7
For some eligible members (N)	6	0	10	3	26	4	1	3	53
For some eligible members (%)	37.5	0.0	19.2	14.3	45.6	30.8	5.0	13.0	24.0
None (N)	6	16	26	18	29	8	17	20	140
None (%)	37.5	84.2	50.0	85.7	50.9	61.5	85.0	87.0	63.4
Total (N)	16	19	52	21	57	13	20	23	221
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure 3.11. The age limit for the old age pension in Rajasthan is 55 years for women and 58 years for men. While in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh it is 60 years.

While further examining into this data on the basis of an urban-rural bifurcation we see a big difference in the data where in urban areas there are more people (79.5%) not getting pension as compared to those in the rural areas (53.6%). See Annexure 3.11. Most of the aged parents of the nomadic and semi-nomadic community stay in native villages when the young members of the family go to work or beg in the cities. It leads to hardships in their life in absence of pension which give them some financial support.

3b.8 Death Certificate

Around 31.3% households have death certificates of the deceased members of their family. some have complained for being asked for bribe by the Sarpanch and municipality members to get it.

References:

Deaton, A, and JAC Brown. 1972. "Surveys in Applied Economics: Models of Consumer Behaviour." *Economic Journal* 82: 1145-1236

The State of Social Pension in India - <https://www.dvara.com/blog/2019/07/23/the-state-of-social-pensions-in-india/>

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EDUCATION STATUS

Education among the DNTs is the most concerning issue. Different DNT communities have different issues while dealing with education. They are not taken into account when education policies are revised from time to time. The rate of non-enrollment and drop-out is very high among them. The various reasons for this include - conservatism, migration, remoteness, caste discrimination, gender discrimination, stigma of criminality, traditional profession, child labour, hygiene, malnutrition, poverty, lack of proper ID documents, illiteracy and lack of awareness among the parents. This situation has aggravated during the COVID period which is not reflected in this report but should be kept in mind while going through the data. This survey ended just near to the starting of the pandemic. According to various media reports, education has been badly affected across the country. If we account this among the DNTs then the situation could be said to be the worst.

4a. National and state wise Literacy Rate¹⁹⁸ in comparison to the DNT communities.

The literacy rate among the DNT communities is very low in comparison to the average literacy rate for the whole country or for individual states included in this study. See Table 4.ii describing the literacy rate of the DNT communities. From the table listed below one can compare the data of this survey and estimate the level of educational backwardness. In the National Statistical Office (NSO) survey of the year 2017-18 published in the year 2020¹⁹⁹ the average literacy rate in the country is 77.7%. Both Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh states have lower literacy rates of 69.7% and 73.7% which is below the national

¹⁹⁸ This data plus the surveyed data under this project takes into account household members above the age of 6 years.

¹⁹⁹ Report '*Household Social Consumption on Education in India, July-2017 - June-2018*' published by National Statistical Office (NSO), Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation, Govt. of India. See pg. 43 in http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Report_585_75th_round_Education_final_1507_0.pdf

average. Whereas Gujarat has a better literacy rate of 82.4%, but far below that of Kerala which stands at 96.2% being the highest literacy rate in India. If we look into the rural areas where most of the DNT communities live, the situation is worse than this, and females have a significantly lower literacy rate. Thus, gender inequality is evident in education. The illiteracy of the mother highly affects the upbringing and education of the child.

Table 4.i - Comparative table of the National Literacy Rate with the literacy rate of the three States under study (data in %):

Year	2011									2017-18								
	Rural			Urban			Rural + Urban			Rural			Urban			Rural + Urban		
	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
All India	77	58	68	89	79	84	82.14	65.46	74.04	81.5	65.0	73.5	92.2	82.8	87.7	84.7	70.3	77.7
Rajasthan	76	46	61	88	71	80	79.19	52.12	66.11	77.6	52.6	65.5	91.1	74.6	83.5	80.8	57.6	69.7
Gujarat	82	61	72	91	81	86	85.75	69.68	78.03	85.7	68.0	77.0	95.2	86.3	91.1	89.5	74.8	82.4
Madhya Pradesh	75	52	64	89	77	83	78.73	59.24	69.32	77.9	61.0	69.8	91.4	79.5	85.8	81.2	65.5	73.7

Source: Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation, Govt. of India. Literacy Rate In India State Wise (RGI& NSSO). See <http://mospi.nic.in/literacy-rate-india-state-wise-rgi-nssso-0>

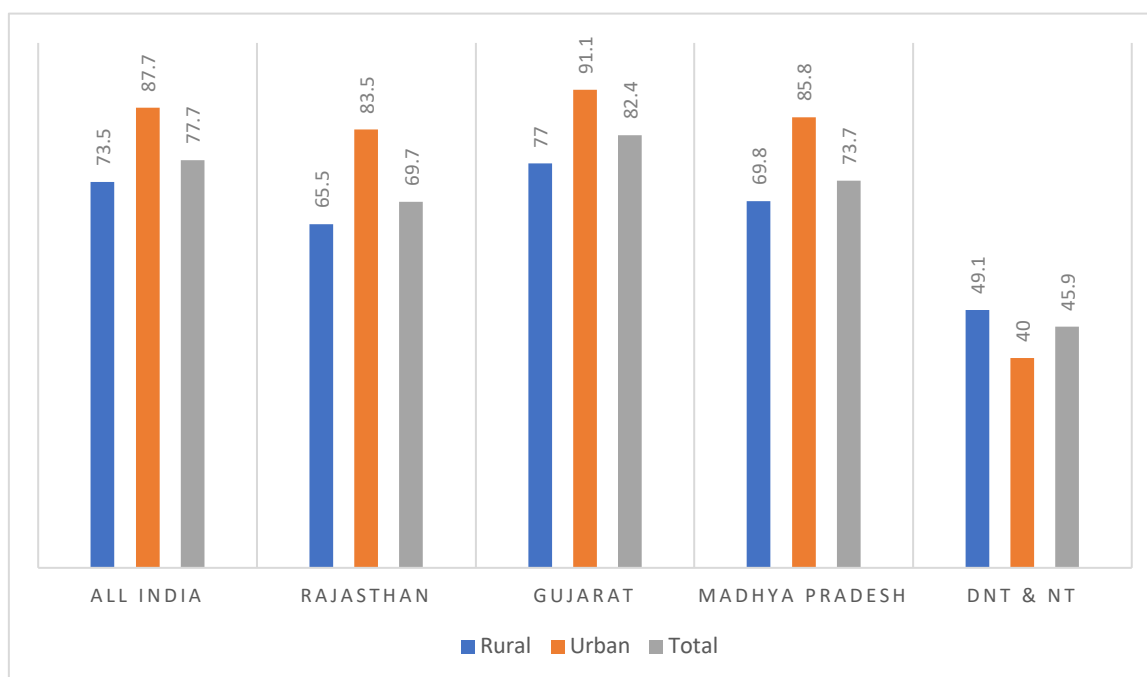
Table 4.ii - Literacy Rate among the DNT communities of three states under study (age 6 years and above - currently enrolled or having dropped out above class-V), data in %:

Year	2019-20								
	Rural			Urban			Rural + Urban		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Bachhada	69.6	56.7	62.8	--	--	--	69.6	56.7	62.8
Bedia	67.5	60.7	64.0	66.9	54.3	60.3	67.4	59.2	63.1
Gadia Luhar	14.1	18.0	16.1	31.4	28.3	29.9	24.1	23.9	24.0
Kalbelia	52.9	35.7	45.1	26.0	19.9	23.2	46.4	31.5	39.6
Kanjar	59.1	41.8	50.5	52.9	26.7	40.6	59.0	41.5	50.3
Nat	68.3	48.8	59.6	38.6	31.5	35.3	44.0	34.5	39.6
Pardhi	42.3	36.3	39.3	50.8	27.8	39.7	45.4	33.3	39.5
Sansi	64.7	51.5	58.8	61.2	57.6	59.4	62.2	56.0	59.3
Total	55.9	44.5	50.3	44.6	37.3	41.0	51.9	42.0	47.0

Note: For details see Annexure 4.1

On comparing the literacy rate of India with the DNT communities we see that in the year 2017-18 the All India Literacy rate was 77.7%. In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh it was 69.7%, 82.4% and 73.7% respectively. This survey on the DNT communities which was conducted a year later during 2019-20 shows the average literacy rate of the DNT children to be 47%, much lower than the All India and that of the three states. This literacy rate is for children aged above 6 years, because the reading and writing ability pertains to this group. If we consider the literacy rate of parents separately then it is much lower.²⁰⁰ The above literacy rate of 47% is based on 4861 children from the total strength of 11064 people. The literacy rate among the girls is 42% while that among the boys is 51.9%. Below is a chart of comparative study of All India, three states under study and the DNT communities.

Chart 4.a - Literacy rate of All India, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh (year 2018-19) and that of the DNT Survey (2019-20):



Note: For details see Annexure 4.1

On further investigating this data based on communities (see Annexure 4.1) we see that the lowest literacy rate is among the Gadia Luhar community i.e. 24%. Among the Kalbelia, Nat and Pardhi also this rate is low - i.e. 39.6%, 39.6% and 39.5%. On separating the figures into male and female we see that Gadia Luhar boys have minimum literacy of 14.1% in rural areas and Kalbelia girls have a literacy rate of 19.9% in Urban areas. As compared to the others, only Bachhada and Bedia show better literacy of 62.8% and 63.1% (average). This

²⁰⁰ The literacy rate of parents is much lower. Chart 4.b shows that 71% parents never enrolled in the school, 27% dropped out and only 2% completed education as far as Class 6.

features average data of the communities under study, but there are locations where not even a single child has passed class V standard. It has been reported by the surveyor that in village Mundikhedi of Sihore district of Madhya Pradesh, no Pardhi children have ever studied above class V.

4b. Educational Profile of Parents

As previously stated the literacy rate of the parents directly corresponds to the consciousness of the parents regarding education directly affecting literacy of their children. Illiteracy leads to various problems in life. Illiterate persons cannot fully execute their democratic rights. They are deceived by the middle men, charged commission and exploited in many ways and are also harassed by the government officials. DNTs do not have voice, political representation and livelihood opportunities and cannot compete at par with the larger society. It has been noticed that illiterate parents hesitate to visit schools to admit their children. Sometime due to lack of ID documents; Birth Certificate, Ration Card and Aadhar Card they are unable to get them admitted. Presently these documents are required for online registration of each child. Due to the lack of these documents children are not admitted in schools though according to the democratic right every children is entitled to get quality education.

Illiterate parents also lack awareness about the various welfare and affirmative schemes regarding scholarships, free books, stationery, mid-day meal and other facilities the child is entitled to, especially when he or she falls under the reserved category of SC & ST. After admission, parents seldom visit the school or attend parents-teachers meetings (PTM) to get updates about the progress of their child. Survey data shows that 29.69% parents never attended such meetings which are held three to four times during the year (see Annexure 5.7 & Chart 5.i).

The survey data of the eight DNT communities shows that 71.4% parents have never seen face of the school (non-enrolment), 26.9% dropped out of the school at an early stage,²⁰¹ and only 1.6% completed their study. Chart 4.b illustrates this data.

When we compare this data with the national Adult Literacy Rate (released by the GOI, MHRD, Education Statistics at a Glance, 2016), it stands at 69.3% for the parents nationally which is near to the percentage of 'Never Enrolled' ratio of 71.4% among the DNT community (parents). This situation is worst among the Nat, Pardhi and Gadia Luhar parents who does not value education and forcefully employ their children into traditional occupations. From this one can understand the level of inequality and difference among these communities when compared with the rest of the citizens (parents) of India. If the

²⁰¹ Maximum dropout among the DNTs happens by class-V standard.

parents remain illiterate then the next generation also get affected due to their illiteracy and ignorance.

Chart 4.b - Education status of Parents (in %):

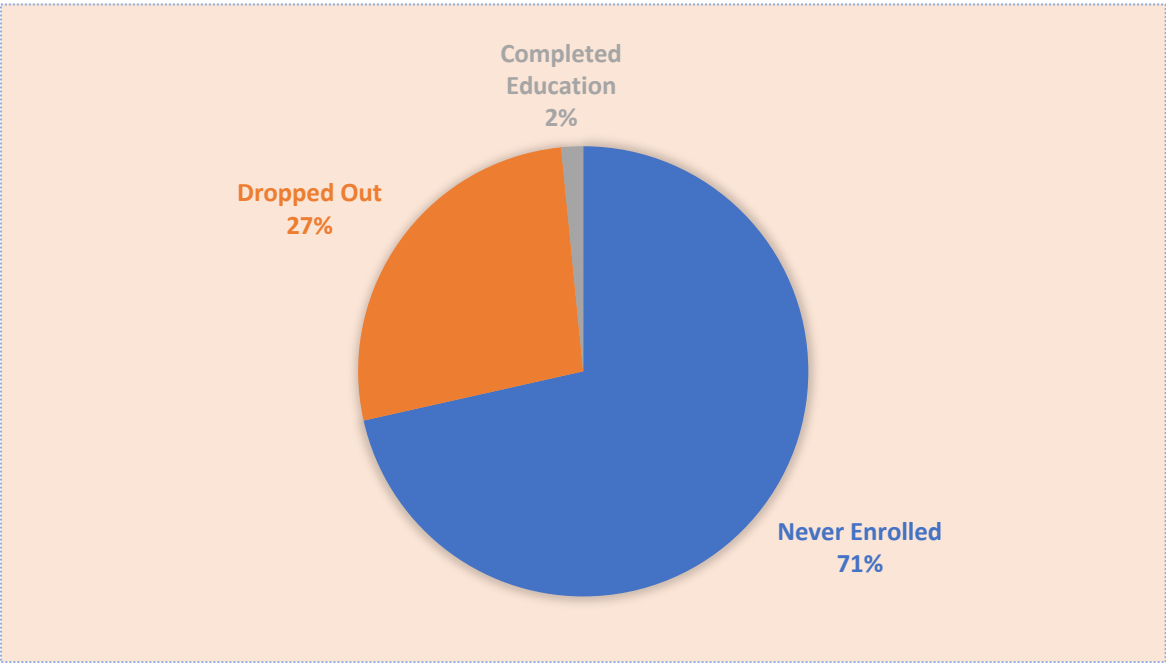
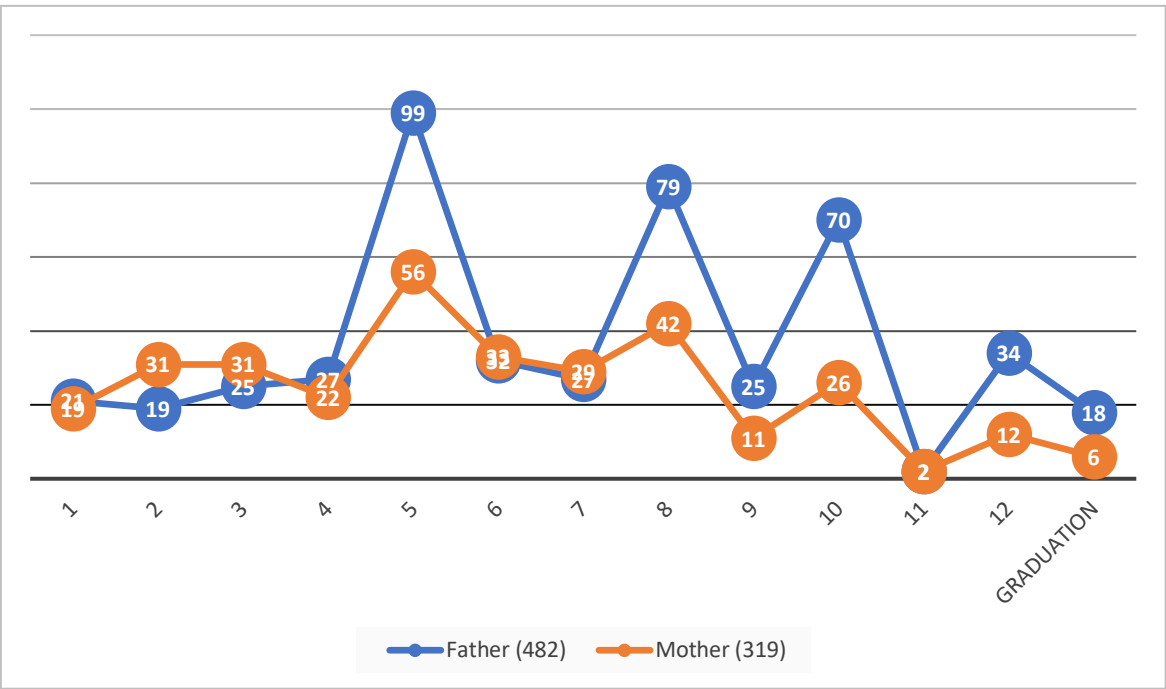


Chart 4.c - Dropped out status of Parents (in % from the total 27% parents who dropped out):



Among those parents who completed their study few reached college education and got a degree. Out of the 2274 households only 20 parents passed class 10, 12 parents passed class 12, and 8 parents graduated. Only 24 mother and father (see Chart 4.c) were able to reach college level but couldn't complete their studies due to various issues, particularly financial and taking up private jobs like working in restaurants and shops, cleaning work, casual labour, etc. to earn a living.

4c. Educational Profile of Children Between 6 to 18 Years of Age

The data of the DNT communities²⁰² shows that more than seven crore (literacy rate standing to 45.9%)²⁰³ people in India cannot read and write. The percentage of children who do not get proper education, especially in the rural areas, is high. The nomadic communities²⁰⁴ who are regularly on the move in search of their livelihood cannot enrol their children in schools as they cannot attend them regularly. The caste discrimination by the dominant and higher caste communities create inferiority complex among the DNT children. Facing the discrimination they stop attending schools after a while.

Another issue is that, finding the challenges of survival (livelihood), children join their parents and start earning at an early age. Thus the cases of child labour are very high among the DNT communities. Chart 5.1 shows that post school hours 20.26% children spend more than 5 hours on average daily time to help their parents in their work. Their work contributes to the household income of Rs. 200 to 500 on an average per day which is essential for sustainability.

As noticed in the above data the female literacy rate in India is low, on an average by 10% in case of urban area and by 15% in rural areas as compared to males.²⁰⁵ But in case of the DNT communities this gender difference is far larger (see Table 4.ii). Girls among the DNT communities are generally married off at a young age (around 14 to 16 years) for safety reasons. Though child marriage has decreased in recent years due to strict vigilance of the administration, it still happens without notice in remote corners, particularly among the nomadic communities.

The total number of children surveyed among the 2274 households of DNT community of the age group 6 to 18 years was 4817 children (see Table 4.iii). The average data of school education of these children shows that 66.2% are currently enrolled, 16.6% have dropped out and 17.2% were never enrolled in school. This shows that 33.8% children are out of

²⁰² Accounting them to be 10% of the Indian Population.

²⁰³ More than 60% DNT either never enrolled or dropped out.

²⁰⁴ Particularly in the case of Kalbelia and Gadia Luhar.

²⁰⁵ See Table 4.i.

schools. On comparing this with the national data we see that school attendance is around 27% lower for the DNT communities.²⁰⁶

Table 4.iii - Status of enrolment of DNT children in the age group of 6-18 years:

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Never enrolled	1.5	3.8	45.1	25.7	9.7	13.6	26.3	3.7	17.2
Dropped out	5.8	14.7	12.6	20.7	23.6	18.9	20.9	11.7	16.6
Currently enrolled	92.8	81.5	42.3	53.5	66.5	67.5	52.8	84.6	66.2
Completed education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No. of children	539	530	690	767	792	492	494	513	4817

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Table 4.iv & Table 4.v.

In the above data we see that in the Gadia Luhar community there is maximum drop-out and non-enrolment rate amounting to 57.7% altogether. Similarly, in the Kalbelia and Pardhi community the drop-out and non-enrolment rate stands at 46.4% and 47.2% respectively. Only among the Bachhada and Sansi communities, one can see that a good number of children are currently enrolled i.e. 92.8% and 84.6% respectively. Among the Bedia also 81.5% children are currently enrolled. The three communities - Bachhada, Bedia and Sansi are settled communities and financially better off as compared to others thus they take interest in education of their children.

When we bifurcate this data between rural and urban (see Table 4.iv & 4.v), we see that this data varies among the communities in a different manner. For example, among the Gadia Luhar community the proportion of children currently enrolled in rural area is lower (27.4%) than the urban area (53.7%). But when we see this data among the Kalbelia community which is also a nomadic community like the Gadia Luhar, this ratio in rural area is higher (58.2%) as compared to that of the urban area (37.4%). One reason for this is that when Gadia Luhar are studied in a rural context we see that they are always on the move from one village to another and thus their children do not study. Whereas when the same community is in urban areas, they are settled at one place and find opportunity to enrol their children. This situation is opposite for the Kalbelia because when they are in the village they live as a settled community and only go out for work during the season for a limited number of days. Thus, they have high enrolment rate in rural areas as compared to the urban where Kalbelia children roam around to either beg on the streets with their parents or collect plastic

²⁰⁶ See https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/statistics-new/ESAG-2018.pdf

garbage. The reasons are similar for the Nat community whose enrolment rate in the rural area is 81.1% while it is 64.4% in urban areas. Among the Kanjar community also there is a difference, but this is not significant since the number of their households surveyed in urban areas was only 19 nos. (see Table 4.v & Annexure 4.1).

It has been noticed that there are high aspirations among the Bedia, Kanjar and Sansi community towards the education. They find this as a way out from the economic backwardness and social stigma. Thus, many among these communities who get well educated and find jobs in cities abandon their native village to further improve the life of their children. Whereas the Kalbelia, Nat, Gadia Luhar, Pardhi have no such high aspirations thus they do not pay much attention towards the education of their children.

Table 4.iv - Urban-rural differentials in enrolment status of children age 6 to 18 (Data in %):

	RURAL				URBAN			
	Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education	Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education
Bachhada	1.5	5.8	92.8	0.0	--	--	--	--
Bedia	4.7	15.4	79.9	0.0	0.8	12.5	86.7	0
Gadia Luhar	65.6	7.0	27.4	0.0	29.4	16.9	53.7	0
Kalbelia	24.0	17.7	58.2	0.2	31.6	31.0	37.4	0
Kanjar	9.7	22.8	67.2	0.0	10.5	52.6	36.8	0
Nat	4.4	14.4	81.1	0.0	15.7	19.9	64.4	0
Pardhi	28.0	15.5	56.6	0.0	22.5	33.1	44.4	0
Sansi	8.1	11.3	80.6	0.0	1.7	11.9	86.4	0
Total	17.3	15.0	67.6	0.0	17.1	19.7	63.3	0

Table 4.v - Urban rural differentials in the enrolment status of children age 6 to 18 (Data in numbers):

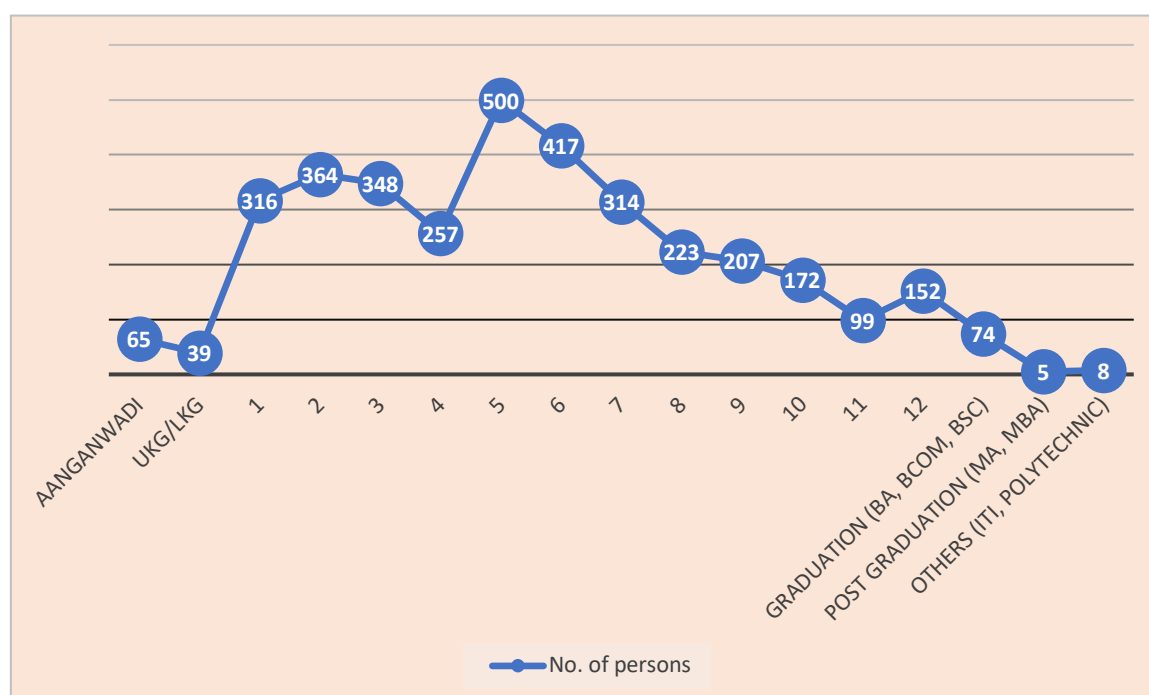
	RURAL				URBAN			
	Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education	Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education
Bachhada	8	31	500	0				
Bedia	19	62	321	0	1	16	111	0
Gadia Luhar	196	21	82	0	115	66	210	0
Kalbelia	142	105	345	1	55	54	65	0
Kanjar	75	177	521	0	2	10	7	0
Nat	4	13	73	0	63	80	259	0
Pardhi	96	53	194	0	34	50	67	0
Sansi	13	18	129	0	6	42	305	0
Total	553	480	2,165	1	276	318	1,024	0

The national ASER Report of the year 2018 (Rural) shows that the percentage of out of school (never enrolled) children is 4.4% (7-16 years).²⁰⁷ As compared to this non-enrolment among the DNT communities in rural areas of the three states stands at 17.3% which is four times the national average.

4d. Educational qualification of the currently enrolled children (data in numbers):

This accounts for some 3560 children who are currently studying. From this data we see that there is a steep decline in the numbers from class V standard onwards. At graduation level there are 74 children while in post-graduation only 5 children. 8 children were doing professional diploma courses.

Chart 4.d - Educational qualification of currently enrolled children:



For details see Annexure 4.3

4e. Inequality in the gender ratio

As compared with the other communities the male-female discrimination among the DNT communities is low. Like boys, girls are also earning members of the household. It has been seen that in some of the Kanjar, Bedia and Bachhada villages, the number of girls is higher than the boys. Girls are preferred in these communities for being a source of income for the family. According to the report, 'Bedias prefer and admire girls. They celebrate the birth of

²⁰⁷ See pg. 51 in <http://img.asercentre.org/docs/ASER%202018/Release%20Material/aserreport2018.pdf>

a girl child. Pregnant Bedia women frequently go through sex-determination tests to identify sex of the foetus in order to avoid the birth of a male child'.²⁰⁸ Similarly we see that, 'Most Bachhada *deras* (localities) have an unusually high number of women - Neemuch has 3,595 women for 2,770 men, Mandsaur 2,491 women for 2,154 men, while there are 862 women for 735 men in Ratlam'.²⁰⁹ In the village Ramnagar Kanjar Colony of Bundi district where the survey has taken place there are 2636 women against the population of 1373 men in the voter list of the village (total population is 4009, see Table 4.vii).²¹⁰ Since the women are sent into prostitution at an early age they drop out from the schools early.

Table 4.vi - Statewise gender ratio (No. of females per 1000 males), Year 2011:

Sr. No.	State	Rural	Urban	Total
1	Rajasthan	933	914	928
2	Gujarat	948	880	919
3	Madhya Pradesh	936	918	931
All India		949	929	943

Source: Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics published by Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Deptt. of Social Justice & Empowerment (Plan Division), Sept. 2018.

See <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>

Table 4.vii - Inequality in gender ratio in three villages under survey (latest data according to the voter's list):

Sr. No.	Village, district, state	No. of Men	No. of Women	Total
1	Ramnagar Kanjar Colony, Dist. Bundi, Rajasthan	1373	2636	4009
2	Moyakheda, Dist. Ratlam, MP	52	62	114
3	Hadi Pipalya, Dist. Neemach, MP	415	467	1370

4f. Type of educational institutions (ratio of government and private Schools)

Among the study of 3699 school going students spread in 2274 households it has been noticed that 73% of them attend government schools and 27% attend private schools (see Table 4.viii). The proportion of children attending government schools is higher in rural areas where there are fewer options and if private schools does exist in rural areas then due

²⁰⁸ U. Rana, D. Sharma & D. Ghosh, *Prostitution in northern Central India: an ethnographical study of Bedia community*, Int. j. anthropol. ethnol. 4, 2 (2020). See <https://ijae.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s41257-020-0027-5#citeas>

²⁰⁹ According to the article title, '*A Girl on the Highway*' written by Shalini Nair, July 2, 2018, which speaks about the minor Bachhada girls, who are forced into caste-sanctioned prostitution. See <https://indianexpress.com/article/express-sunday-eye/a-girl-on-the-highway-5240780/>

²¹⁰ Latest data provided by one of the surveyors Bachnaram from the voter list of the village.

to poverty they cannot send their children there. It is only in cities where parents aspire to send their children to private schools. If they have a better income to afford school fees then they certainly like to send the children to private schools. But this percentage is only 26.18%. See the table below.

Table 4.viii - Distribution of literate parents and children (6-18 yrs.) in government and private schools (according to the DNT survey):

Sr. No.		Government Schools	Private Schools	Total
1	No. Parents (both mother and father)	575	117	692
	%	83.09	16.91	100
2	No. of Children	2732	969	3701
	%	73.82	26.18	100

Looking at this data among the three states (Rural) we see that this difference is much less as compared to that of the DNT survey data mentioned in the above table. On comparing Table 4.viii and Table 4.ix the difference between government and private among the school going children is of 47.6% and the same at the national level is 36.8%.

Table 4.ix - Distribution of students in Government and Private Schools (6-16 yrs., Rural). According to ASER 2020 survey²¹¹:

Sr. No.	State	Government School (%)	Private Schools (%)	Non Enrolled (%)
1	Rajasthan	57.3	35.6	7.1
2	Gujarat	82.6	14.8	2.5
3	Madhya Pradesh	65.6	29.1	4.4
4	All India ²¹²	65.4	28.6	5.1

On comparing Table 4.viii and Table 4.ix one can see that the percentage of children among the DNT going to Government schools is much higher (73.8%) than the national average of 65.4% (Govt. schools).

4g. Traditional profession and beliefs as a hindrance in education

In the case of the nomadic communities communities like the Gadia Luhar and Kalbelia, children do not attend schools due to their migrations with parents in search of a livelihood.

²¹¹ <http://img.asercentre.org/docs/ASER%202020/ASER%202020%20REPORT/aser2020fullreport.pdf>

²¹² <http://img.asercentre.org/docs/ASER%202020/ASER%202020%20REPORT/nationalfindings.pdf>

The Gadia Luhar has historically resolved that they will not settle down. They connect themselves with Maharana Pratap (ruler of Mewar, 1540-1597 AD) who lost his battle against the Mughals. Since then the Gadia Luhar are on the move abiding by their oath that they will not settle until they reclaim Mewar (Rajasthan). The Gadia Luhar²¹³ is a conservative community still practicing their traditional occupation of blacksmith. In the recent time their community council has decided to permit the community to settle wherever they are based. Slowly the community is finding places to permanently settle. In some places the municipal corporations and village panchayats have allotted them land for housing. But in spite of this the community has not taken education seriously, and involve their children in traditional professions or plastic collection.

Similar to the Gadia Luhar, the Kalbelia are traditional musicians and gypsies of Rajasthan. The Roma gypsies in Europe trace their origins to the Kalbelia in Rajasthan.²¹⁴ which shows that the community has remained highly nomadic for centuries. In the present time the community finds it tough to earn a livelihood. Their children are often found collecting discarded plastic and garbage from the streets. They also beg in villages and cities. Since they work in unhygienic conditions, they are prone to many contagious diseases. Due to their unhygienic habits they are discriminated against in the schools.

The above literacy data shows that so many people in India cannot read and write, particularly among the DNT communities (see Table 4.ii). The percentage of children who do not get education is high in the urban areas among the DNT children which is the opposite to the trend of all India or states under study. The nomadic communities cannot enrol their children into schools due to frequent movements. The caste discrimination creates an inferiority complex among the children and discourages them from attending schools. Language divide is also a major problem particularly for primary level children to understand the state language (Gujarati in Gujarat and Hindi in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh) in which education is imparted. Facing the challenges of survival, children of DNT community join their parents and start earning at an early age (see Chart 5.k & 5.l). As noticed in the above data (Table No. 4.i) the female literacy rate in India is low. As compared to the other communities the male-female discrimination is also low but instead of sending DNT girls to schools, they are generally assigned the responsibility of caring for the household when parents go out for work.

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²¹³ Today Gadia Luhar community is found across the states of north and western India.

²¹⁴ See the film 'Latcho Drom' directed by Tony Gatlif.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT & PERCEPTION TOWARDS CHILD EDUCATION

A positive attitude in parents toward education of their children is the main criteria that decides their future. Ignorant and illiterate parents are unable to understand the importance of education. Those parents who are involved in traditional professions like from the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Nat communities, they force their children into traditional professions at an early age. There is gender bias where girls are asked to take care of the household work. Among the Bedia, Bacchada and Kanjar communities girls are forced into prostitution at an early age.²¹⁵ Thus the literacy rate among girls is lower than that of the boys (see table 4.ii) across all the communities under study. But still there are parents who aspire to educate their children so that they can rise from inherent poverty and find decent jobs. This motivates them to educate their children. Cases have been noticed in village Pander Kanjar colony of Bhilwara where parents sold their land to educate their son in Jaipur.²¹⁶ Similarly in Chhara Nagar (Sansi community) of Ahmedabad many boys and girls have attained higher education to achieve a bright career. Some of them are successful lawyers, journalists, film makers and artists. But this percentage of successful people is very small as compared to other developed communities. The Bedia community no more want their daughters to enter into prostitution, thus they are educating them and marrying them within the community.

According to the survey, less than 1% children are able to achieve higher degrees (see Chart 4.d). Government jobs are far from their reach. Below are few parameters to judge interest of parents in education of their children. These parameters greatly influence the education of children and their inclusive development imagined under the UN's Sustainable

²¹⁵ See report in <https://www.thebetterindia.com/37287/bedia-community-madhya-pradesh-samvedna-prostitution/>

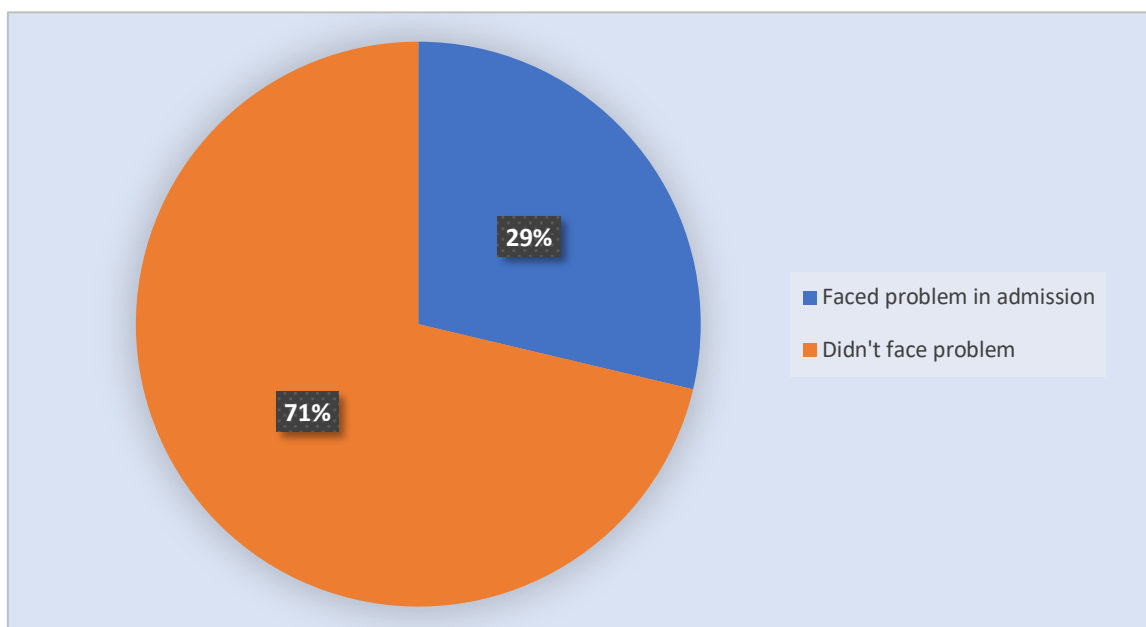
²¹⁶ To finance Bachelor of Engineering course in a private college.

Development Goals (SDGs) No. 4, or the National Education Policy and Right To Education (RTE) schemes.

5a. Problems faced by parents in getting children admitted into schools/colleges

The literacy of parents according to the survey is 19.7%.²¹⁷ This is a clear indication that few parents among the eight DNT communities are literate which directly corresponds to the education of their children. This also translates into enrolment of their children. Apart from this the data shows that 29% parents have acknowledged problems in enrolment of their children due to other reasons also. See Chart 5.a below.

Chart 5.a - Problem faced by the parents in admission of their children:



Those who have admitted to a problem in admission have stated various reasons for it. Some of the important ones cited in the survey are:

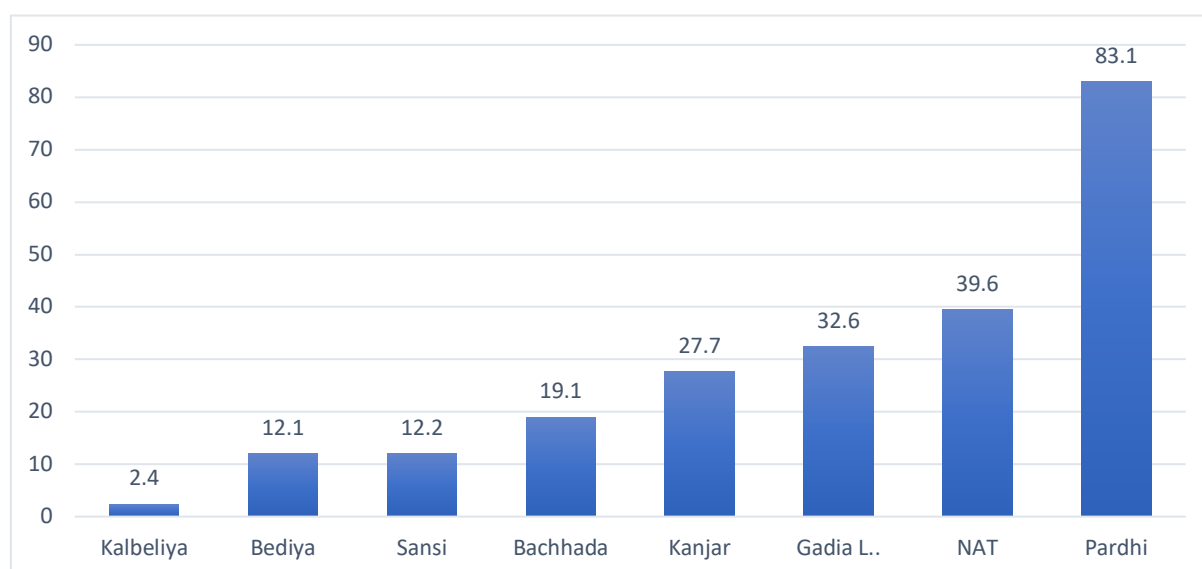
1. Absence of identity documents: Aadhar Card, Caste Certificate, Birth Certificate and Ration Card.
2. Problem with online registration system of the education department.
3. Monetary problem of the family (in case of private school and higher education).
4. Caste discrimination.
5. Admission of child denied due to physical or mental disability.

²¹⁷ Literacy for this purpose is accounted for a Class V pass in reading and writing.

Along with this, the absence of schools and Aanganwadi in the close vicinity also contribute to low admission of children in school. For Kalbelia, Nat and Gadia Luhar communities since there are no schools nearby many children remain out of the school.

On interviewing the parents regarding the admission of their children it has come to light that Pardhi face maximum challenge (83.1%), followed by the Nat (39.6%), Gadia Luhar (32.6%), Kanjar (27.7%), Bachhada (19.1%), Sansi (12.2%), Bedia (12.1%) and Kalbelia (2.4%). Pardhi parents face maximum challenge in admission of their children because they live outside the village, i.e. far from the school location. And also because they are not encouraged by the teachers during the school admission drive under the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan. Chart 5.b illustrates this more clearly.

Chart 5.b - Percentage of households by community who faced problem in getting their children admitted into school/college:

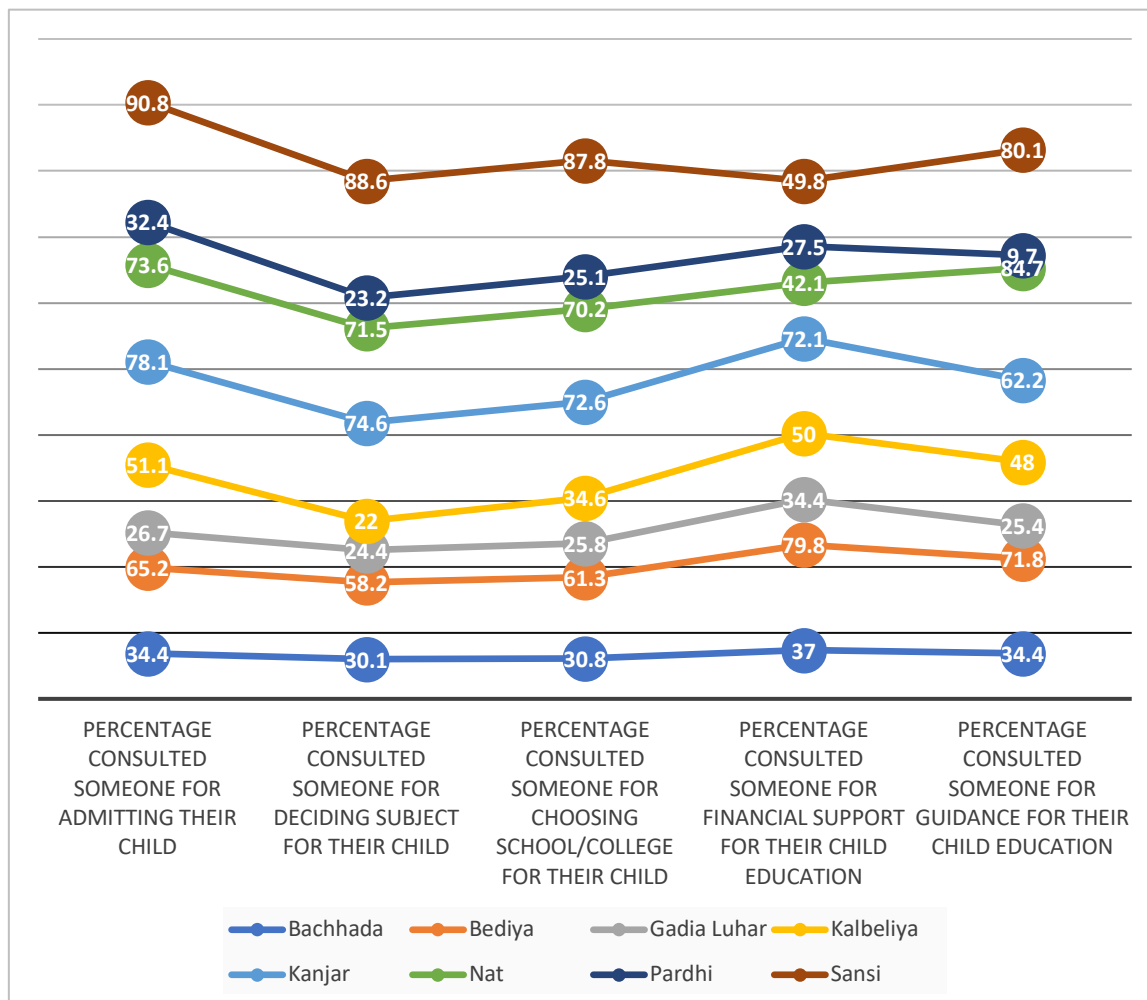


5b. Parents' consultation with others for child's education

Because the illiterate or less literate DNT parents lack information regarding the admission of children, decision for the subjects, choosing school and college, financial support like loans and scholarships, and other guidance, they consult known people among the community, teachers, govt. officials, neighbours, friends, etc. According to the Chart 5.c, it is noticed that the Bedia, Kanjar, Nat and Sansi parents seem to be most concerned as compared to the others. In general also they show highest percentage across all the available sources of guidance. This high percentage (but not sufficient) also translates into good level of education among them (see Annexure 5.1 for details). The data shows that maximum

consultation is sought for admission of child in school/college, then followed by decision for choosing the subject. Both the points are important for deciding future of the child.

Chart 5.c - Percentage of parents who consulted someone for their child's education:

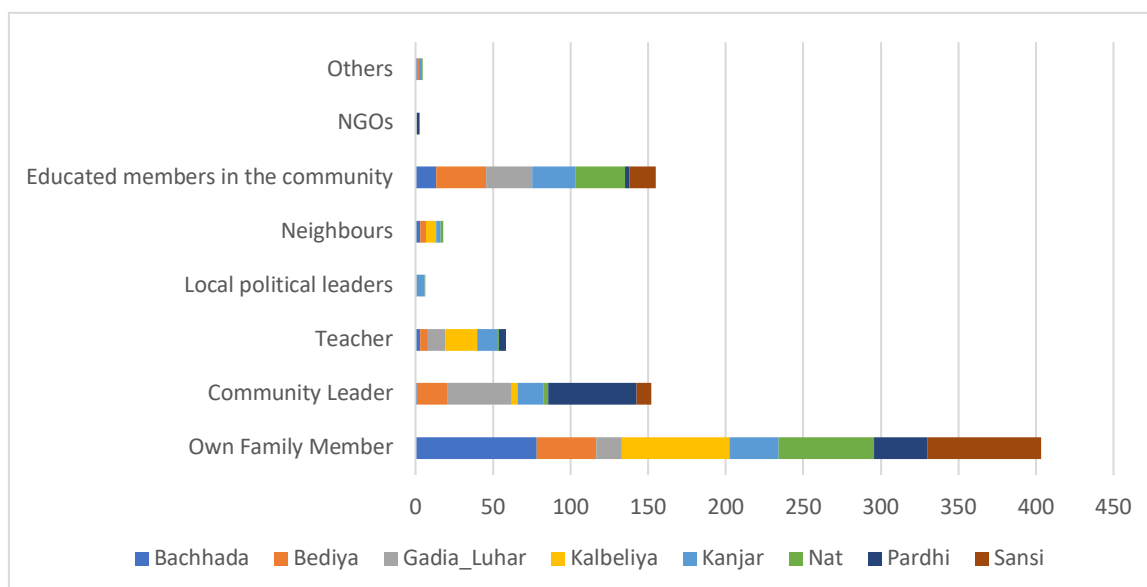


Note: For details see Annexure 5.1

5b.1 Consultation for admission of the child

Among the people who are consulted most for admission of a child into school or college, 52.4% times are their own family members upon whom most of the households rely. Followed by educated community persons (20.9%), who have fairly succeeded in their life after being educated. Community leaders are also consulted who help them in many ways (14.9%). The chart on following page illustrate these statistics more clearly. Least number of households seek help from the NGOs (only 0.2%) which shows their absence in education area. Similar is a case regarding the political leaders also, which shows their negligible participation in the educational development of the DNT communities. For more details see Annexure 5.2 and Chart 5d.

Chart 5.d - Percentage of parents who consulted someone before admitting their child in school/college:

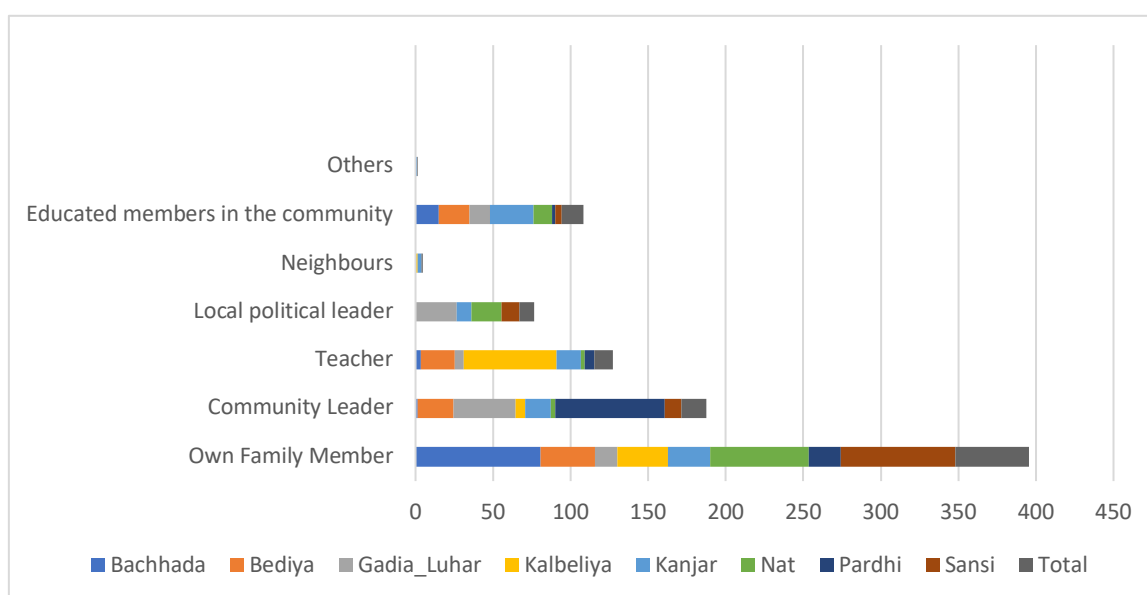


Note: For details see Annexure 5.2

5b.2 For deciding subject of the child

In the matter of choosing subject for the child, here also are their own family members (47.4%) followed by community leaders (16.3%). NGOs have not shown up in this table. For details see Annexure 5.3 and Chart 5.e below.

Chart 5.e - Percentage of parents who consulted someone before deciding subject for their child:

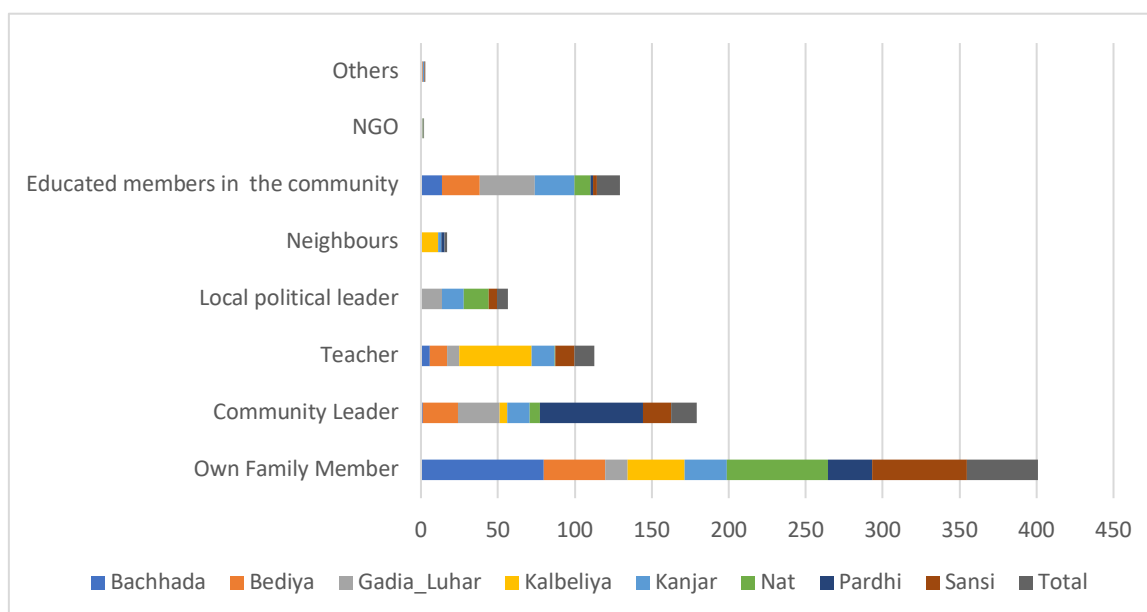


Note: For details see Annexure 5.3

5b.3 For selecting school/college of the child

In this table also 49.5% households seek advice of their family members followed by the community leader (16.7%), educated member in the community (14.7%) and teacher (13.1%). For community wise details see Annexure 5.4 and Chart 5.f below.

Chart 5.f - Percentage of parents consulting someone for selecting school/college of the child:

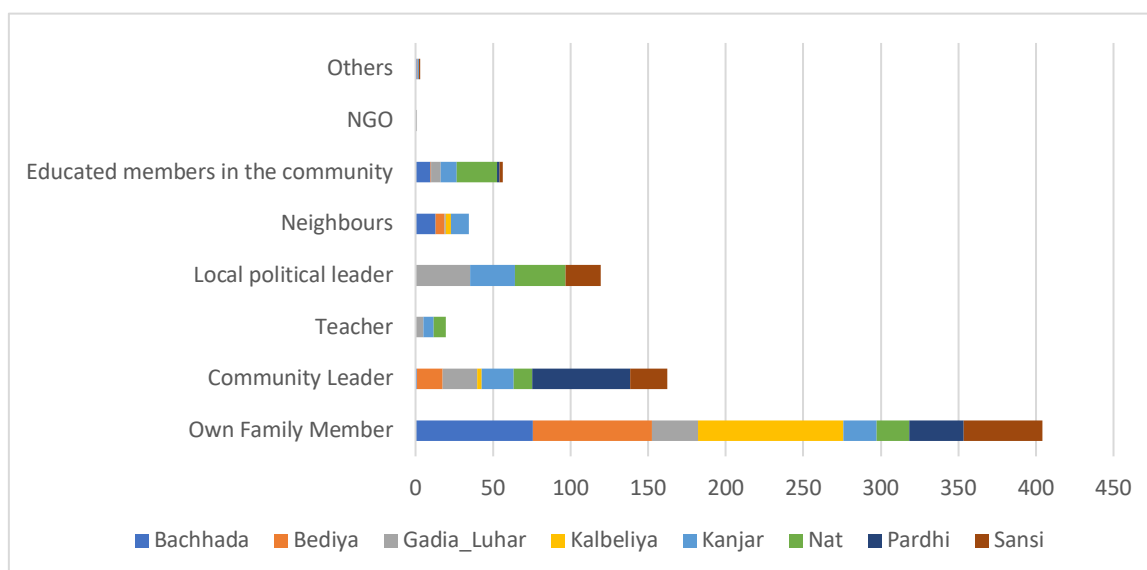


Note: For details see Annexure 5.4

5b.4 For financial support for the child education

Here also it is the family members (52.9%) who are consulted most, followed by the community leaders (17.4%) and local political leaders (15.1%). In the case of financial support generally money is borrowed from relative or property is mortgaged to meet the finances. This is generally among the aspirations communities like the Kanjar, Sansi and Bedia who understands the importance of education. For details see Annexure 5.5 and Chart 5.g on the following page.

Chart 5.g - Percentage of parents who consulted someone for financial support of child's education:

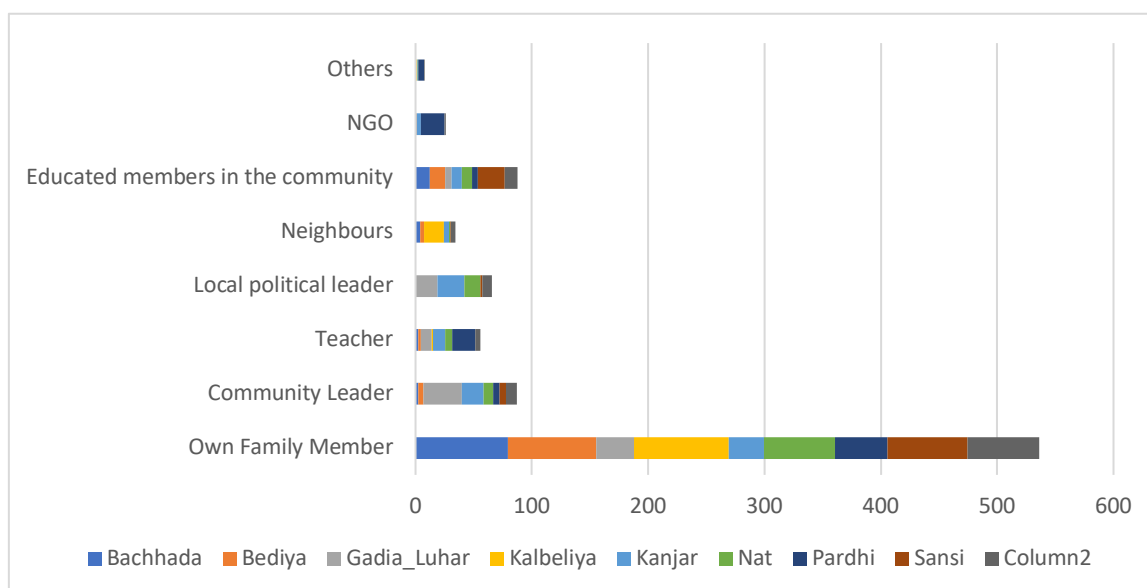


Note: For details see Annexure 5.5

5b.5 For general guidance about child education

This data shows that maximum parents consult their family members (61.6%) followed by educated members (11%) and then community leaders (9.3). This consultation may be regarding the future career of the child, or other problems related to schooling and education. See Annexure 5.6 and Chart 5.h for more details.

Chart 5.h - Percentage of households who seek guidance from different sources listed above:

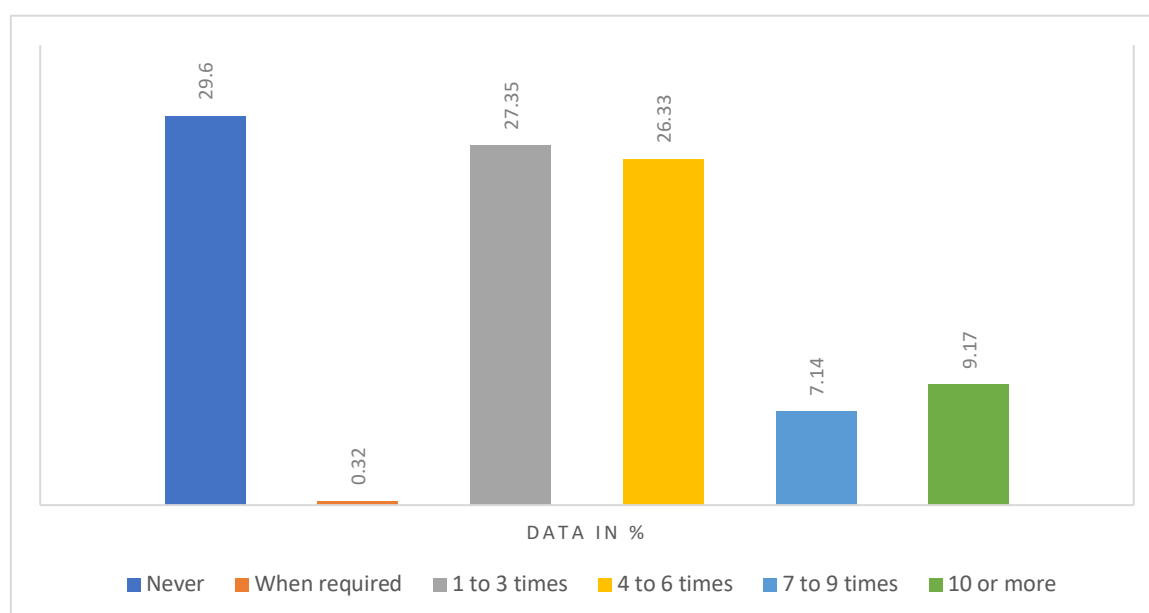


Note: For details see Annexure 5.6

5c. Parent's visit to schools to know about their child's progress

There are fixed days in a year/month/week (differently in government and private schools) for parents to visit schools and meet the teachers to know progress about their child. Whenever there are complaints about the child from the teacher/s then also parents visit schools to meet the teacher/s and principal. This shows the awareness among parents about child's progress in school. Many parents are not able to visit the school at the stipulated time because of their working schedules. Data shows that about 29.69% parents never visited the school. 27.35% parents visited the school 1 to 3 times, while 26.33% parents visited 4 to 6 times. Less or no number of visits may be due to ignorance, illiteracy, hesitation, language barrier or tight working schedule of the parents. There are regular parents teachers meetings (PTM) held at intervals and parents are informed about them. Apart from this some of the selected parents are part of the school development management committees (SDMC) held every month to report irregularities of the school management. The Chart 5.i illustrates the data below.

Chart 5.i - Parents visit to the schools (both government and private):



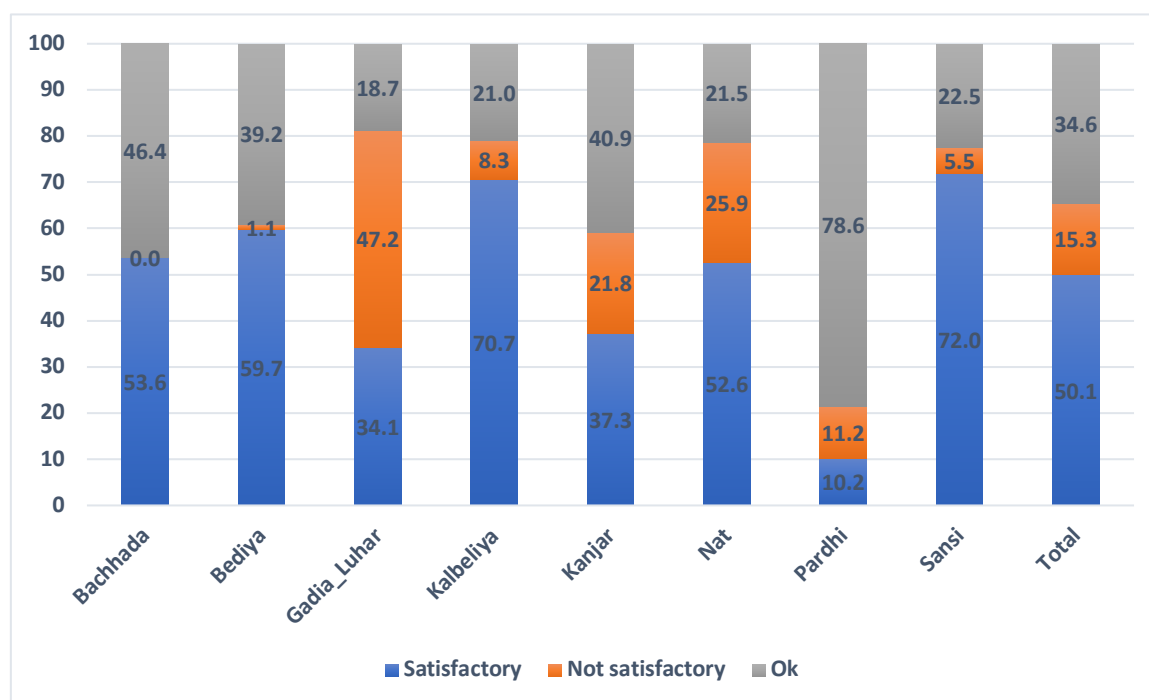
Note: For details see Annexure 5.7

5d. Parent's level of satisfaction regarding child education

On enquiring about the level of satisfaction among the DNT children it has been found on average that 50.10% parents are satisfied while 15.3% are not satisfied and 34.6% are ok with it. This percentage varies among the communities. For example Gadia Luhar (47.2%) are least satisfied with their children's education for being least participant, while Sansi

(72%) and Kalbelia (70.7%) are highly satisfied. This percentage of satisfaction depends on level of literacy among the parents, awareness about the teachers and principal of school, type of school (government or private) and involvement of parents themselves at home in education of the child. Another important factor for satisfaction is whether their children are able to find a descent employment out of education. See Chart 5.j below.

Chart 5.j - Parent's level of satisfaction with their child's education (in percentage):



In the data above, various reasons for non-satisfaction have also been recorded from the parents. Some of these are listed under:

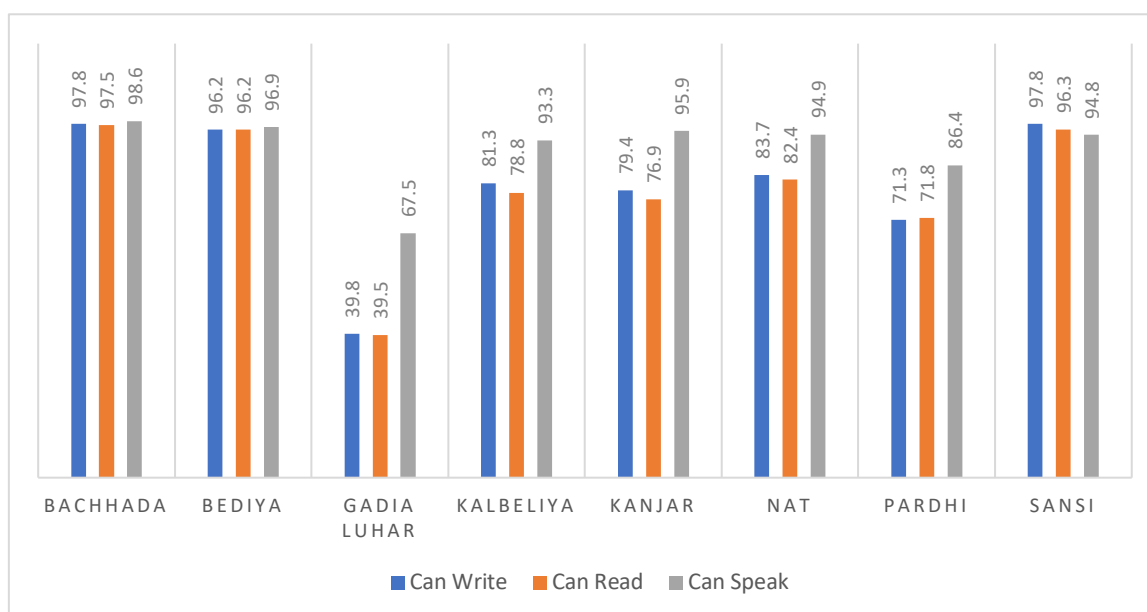
- Children are going to school daily but they can't read and write.
- Teachers do not pay attention to the child in school.
- Teachers attitude is insulting, and school environment is not good.
- Quality of education in government schools is poor.
- Discrimination and physical harassment by other community children in school.²¹⁸
- Parents are in migration thus their children do not focus on studies and are sometime irregular in attendance in school.
- Due to the labour work whole day, parents can't pay attention to child's education at home.

²¹⁸ This is also one of the reasons that many children drop-out from school.

5e. Parent's perception regarding child's ability to read, write and speak (fluently)

Data shows that the maximum number of parents agree to the fact that their child could read, write and speak well except the Gadia Luhar community where the percentage is 39.8%, 39.5% and 67.5% respectively. This highest level of percentage for this is among the Sansi and Bachhada community. This directly corresponds to the level of literacy and awareness among these two communities regarding the education of their child. Since Gadia Luhar are in migration for most of the time and parents themselves are illiterate thus this percentage is lowest among them. Also they are more concerned for skill based learning so that their children could earn a living if not able to find employment through education. Among the Gadia Luhar community there are no examples of people to have found good jobs through education which discourages most of the parents. Chart 5.k and Annexure 5.8 illustrates this fact more clearly.

Chart 5.k - Parent's perception regarding child's ability to read, write and speak (in percentage):



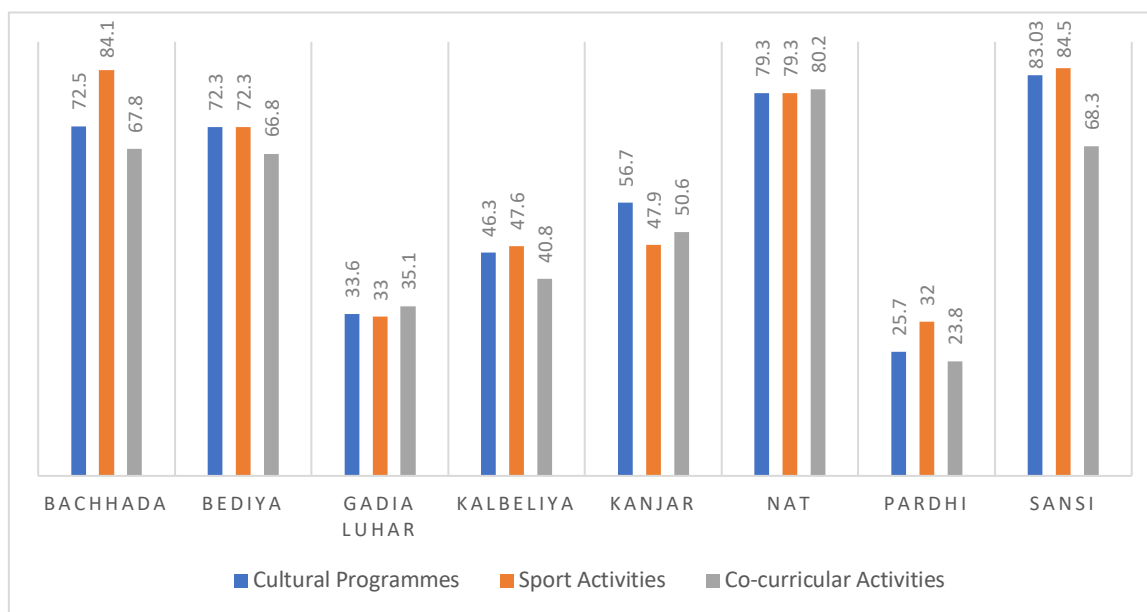
Note: For details see Annexure 5.8

5.f Child participation in school/college non-academic activities

This data shows a fair amount of child participation in the cultural, sport and co-curricular activities. Children of DNT community are physically fit to play sports and participate in cultural activities. But issues like caste discrimination, poverty, physical stamina, etc. keep them away from participating in these. Survey data shows that the least participation is from the Gadia Luhar and Pardhi communities. Its reason is that these children are not regularly

at school due to their migration. There is also no encouragement from the teachers and their parents. Otherwise children from these communities are athletic and sporty by nature. Muskaan of Bhopal has trained some of the Pardhi youth in the game of frisbee. Many among them have fared well in the competitions at state and national level. Chart 5.1 and Annexure 5.9 illustrates this fact more clearly.

Chart 5.1 - Interest of child to participate in non-academic activities (data in percentage):



Note: For details see Annexure 5.9

Some of the reasons that have been stated for non-participation of child in above activities are stated below:

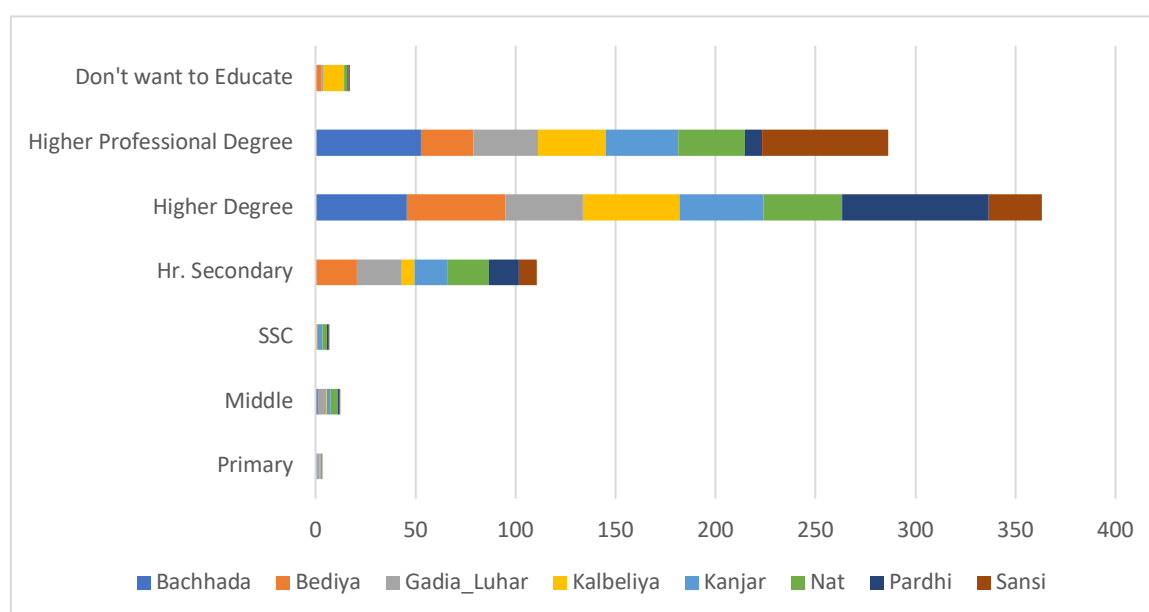
- Migration which does not allow the child to regularly study in school and participate in these activities.
- Poverty and caste discrimination.
- Child not interested due to inferiority complex.
- Discrimination by the teachers, or lack of encouragement from them.
- Lack of capacity to buy shoes and game equipment.

5.g Aspiration of parents for the level of study of their son

Every parent among the DNT communities aspires to get a good education for their children so that they can become self-dependent and live a decent life. Regarding their sons they have higher aspirations in comparison to the girls. Maximum parents feel that their son should study to achieve higher degree or professional qualification so that they can get jobs. In the

survey 13.81% average parents feel that they (son) should complete higher secondary education and then after that get into a job to support the family. The aspiration for higher level of degree is maximum among the Pardhi (73.5%) whereas Sansi feel that professional degrees are more important (63%). Chart 5.m and Annexure 5.10 illustrates these findings of the survey.

Chart 5.m - Parents' aspiration for their son's study:

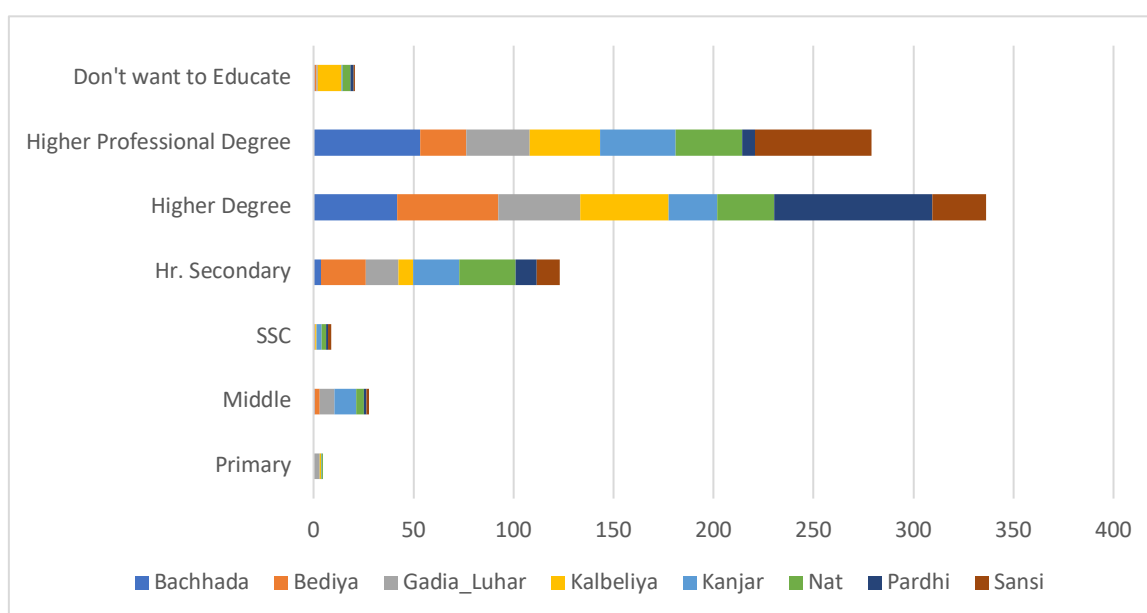


5.h Aspiration of parents for the level of study of their daughters

Girls are mostly not given much attention in education. They are expected to study enough to read and write to correspond for their parents. Girls from the three communities, i.e. Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar are involved in the sex trade thus they are able to only get education till the primary school level. Very few from other communities get opportunity to study in college to get a higher degree or a professional one. Thus they do not qualify to get professional jobs.

Among the DNT communities it has also been seen that girls take care of the household work and of the young children at home if parents go out to work. Thus many among them remain illiterate, especially among the Gadia Luhar and Kalbelia communities. Poverty of the family is another reason for not sending girls to school. Girls among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Nat are married off at an early age thus education is not considered to be of priority. In-laws never take interest in their education. But in contrast to this, in the survey parents have shown high aspirations for their daughters similar to their sons. Chart 5.n and Annexure 5.11 illustrates these findings.

Chart 5.n - Parent's aspiration for their daughter's study:



On comparing the above two graphs (of son and daughter) it has been found that most of the parents want education for their children, both sons and daughters. But in reality there is gender bias and girls do not study much and drop out before reaching the college level.²¹⁹ The data also reveals that the percentage of parents who do not want their children to study is less than 1% which is a positive sign. It is mainly out of compulsions and poverty that they are not able to send their children to schools.

5.i Job aspiration of the parents for their sons

People have responded to this question differently. Many have high aspiration from becoming a Member of Parliament to an Indian Administrative Service officer. Many among them want their sons to become a doctor, teacher or an advocate to serve their community. Most parents aspire for a government job for stability and security reasons. There are also people who do not know what their son should become. Some of the jobs that have been listed for boys are as under:

Table 5.i - Job aspirations for son/s:

Accountant	Advocate	Army man	Bank Manager	Chief Minister
Clerk	Collector (IAS)	Doctor	Engineer	Factory
Manager	Farmer	IPS officer	Mechanic	Musician

²¹⁹ According to the literacy table of 6 to 18 years of age children we see that the literacy among the girls is 42 % while that of the boys is 51.9%. The number of girls (2220) who have attended school are less than the boys (2844).

Nurse	Tehsildar, Patwari	Pilot (airplane)	Police officer, Constable	Political leader
Salesman	Scientist	Social Worker	Sportsman	Teacher
Writer	Any job for living	Businessman	Farmer	

5.j Job aspirations of the parents for their daughters

As compared to the boys, there are lower job aspirations for girls. Thus gender disparity is evident in this finding also. One common expression of parents is that their daughter/s should learn to read and write. A few feel that their daughter should be able to earn by herself and not become dependent on others. Below are some of the aspirations of parents for their daughter's career.

Table 5.ii - Jobs aspirations for daughter/s:

Aaganwadi worker	Aasha worker	Advocate	Air Hostess	Army Captain
Bank Manager	Clerk	Collector (IAS)	Doctor	Engineer
Govt. officer	IPS officer	Journalist	Judge	Home Guard
Lawyer	Musician	Nurse	Patwari, Tehsildar	Police Inspector
Political leader	President	Prime Minister	Professor	Sarpanch
Scientist	Social Worker	Housewife	Complete school education	Get any job for living

5.k Children studying outside their village or town

Households were asked whether any of their children study outside the village due to any of the seven reasons listed in the Table 5.iii below. It has come to light that 169 children are studying outside from the 2274 households which accounts for 7.43% percent of the total households under survey.

Table 5.iii - Reasons for studying outside:

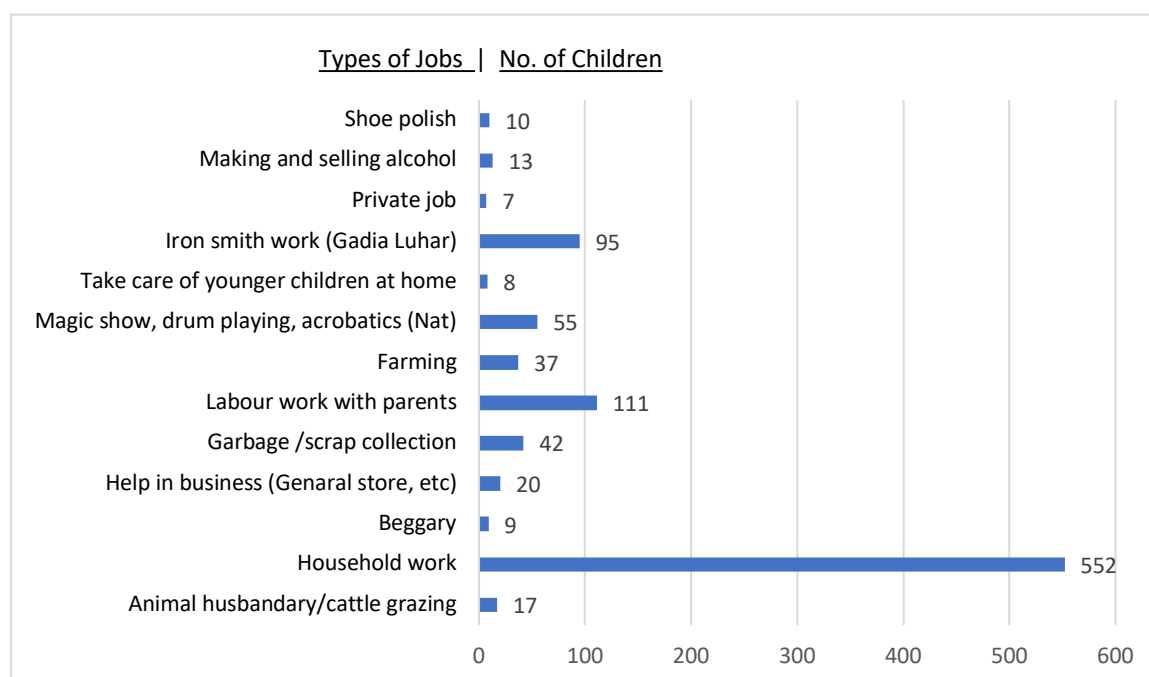
Reasons for studying outside	Number of students studying outside	Percentage of students against the total household strength of 2274 (in %)
For Higher Education	157	6.90
Inadequate facilities in the school	142	6.24
Caste discrimination in the local school	62	2.73
Poor teaching in local school	106	4.66
Availability of multi-grade school	115	5.06
Availability of Hostel/Residential/Ashram Schools	103	9.25
Others	52	4.79
Total	737	7.43%

Under the 'Others' category the reason that has been stated is regular migration of the family for which children are sent to other place to study. But this number is very small.

5.1 Children assisting their parents in work at home (below 18 years)

Many children could not study or focus on it because they assist their parents in their professional or household works. Many drop out to join their parent's work to increase family income. Under the survey it has been discovered that 976 children out of the total 4819 children (age 6-18 years, among the 2274 households) have been found engaged in various works listed below. This accounts for 20.25% children engaged in various works with their parents or independently. These children are in the age group of 6 to 18 years of school going age. Among these 976 children, there are 513 males and 463 females (i.e. 53:47 gender ratio). The graph below illustrates their distribution in different works:

Chart 5.o - Children's participation in various works, below 18 years (data in nos.):



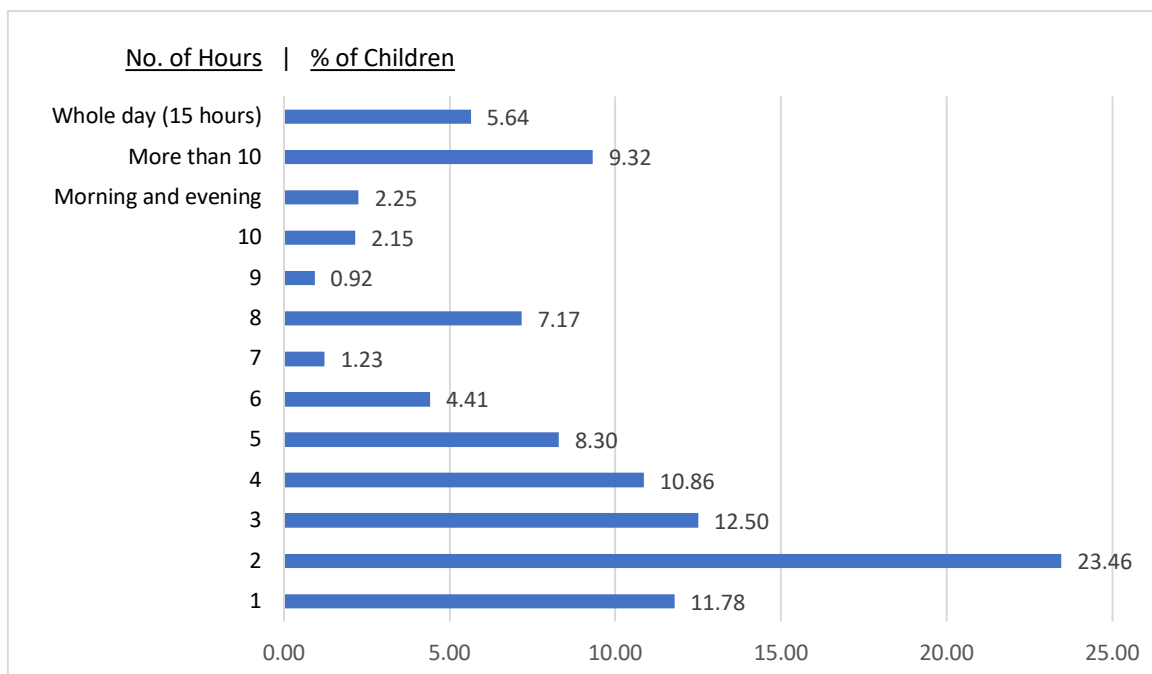
The data shows that maximum number of children (552) are engaged in household works. Among the DNT community both the parents have to work to earn livelihood. Therefore their children have to take care of household work. Many children are involved in labour oriented work (111) and traditional professions like playing drum, magic show, acrobatics (55), etc. Among the Gadia Luhar community most of the children start working early with their parents. Thus we see 95 children working in iron smithy. Children from the Kalbelia community (42) are found engaged in scrap collection. Those households which have agriculture land, 37 children participate in farming activities throughout the year. Apart from

this children are also found in begging, making country liquor, helping in private business, shoe polish etc. Average monthly income from such works done by children stands between rupees 200 to 500.

Among the Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar community, the matter that has not been captured in the survey²²⁰ is the fact the girls below the age of 18 years get involved in prostitution and thus they drop out of the school. But this fact has been verified by the surveyors, research articles²²¹ and various media reports.

The average number of hours spent by children in different works is 5 hours (see Chart 5.p & Annexure 5.12), but when we look into the bifurcation of this we will find that many children work whole day, many among them work for more than 10 hours. Some are found to assist their parents in morning and evening hours. Maximum number of children spend 2 hours in household work, scrap collection for extra income, iron smith work, beggary, farming, taking care and feeding cattle, etc. Such children generally in the age group of 8 to 15 years.

Chart 5.p - Number of hours spent by the children in different works, 6-18 years (data in %, for details see Annexure 5.12):



²²⁰ Not acknowledged by the household head.

²²¹ U. Rana, D. Sharma & D. Ghosh, *op. cit.*

Most of the above works either contribute to the household work or add petty income (Rs. 200 to 500 p.m.) to support the house financially. But this leads to disruption in the child's education. Such children are sometime looked down on by their fellow students when they see them doing demeaning works like begging, collecting plastic scrap, making country liquor, etc. But there is no option for the poor families who struggle to meet the daily expenses on the basis of the daily work.

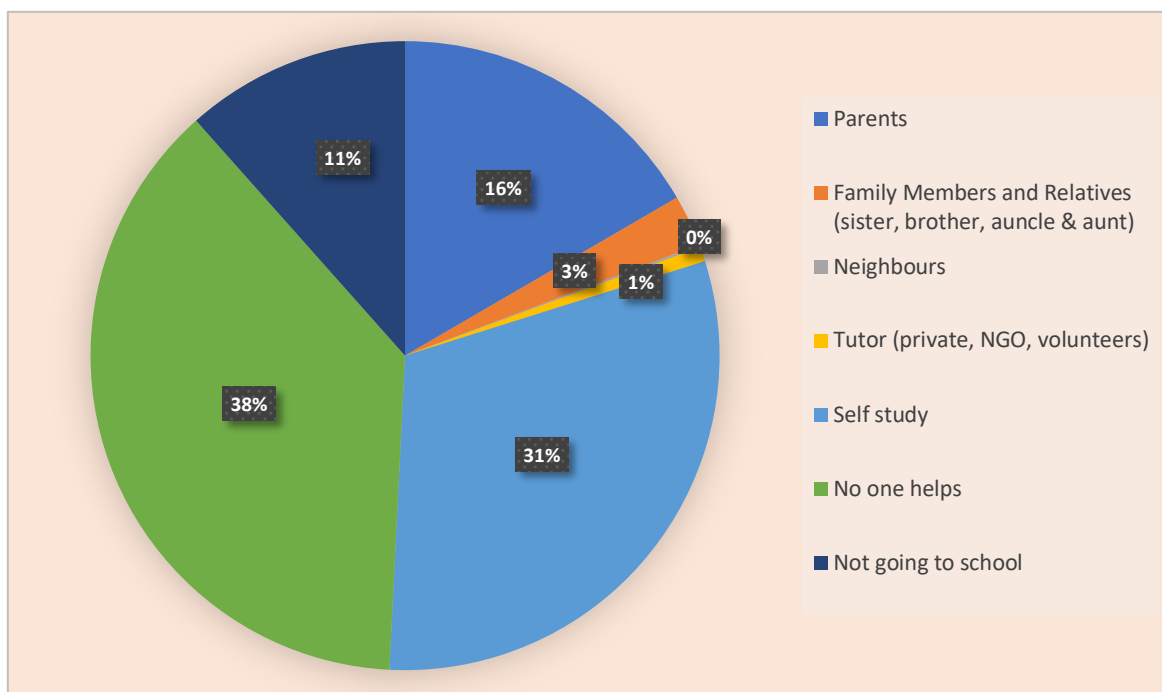
The above data has direct relation with the question whether the child studies at home regularly or not. Survey shows that 33.33% households have said no to the question. Apart from the engagement of the child in works listed above there are other reasons also for the child not taking an interest in studies at home. Mainly because of absence of guidance from the parents who are either illiterate or remain out of the home for long hours. Children play around with their fellow children or roam around in absence of their parents. Many a time the environment of the household and the locality is also not conducive for their studies.

5m. Help received by the child in his/her studies at home after school

The illiteracy of parents is the main reason that a child studying in school does not get any guidance or help in his/she studies at home. This is very important for motivation of the children and to help them find solutions to the problems in studies. Being remotely located and living in rural areas most of the parents do not find private tutors for their children. If they could find some then being poor they could not afford their tuition fees. Many children are unable to complete their homework assigned by the school teachers. Thus they fail to keep up pace with their studies. Being scolded next day in schools they lose interest in studies and stop going to the school. Thus if the child is a little weak in studies he/she drops out from the school early. Presence of remedial classes by the schools is not much seen in the field survey.

Annexure 5.13 and Chart 5.q shows that only 16.62% parents are able to guide their children. This is due to the low literacy rate among the parents. Very few i.e. 2.64% are provided help by their siblings and relatives. Less than 1% children get help from their neighbours and para-teachers appointed by various organizations including the NGOs. 30.65% children are dependent on self-study. There is a large percentage (37.64%) who do not receive any help from anywhere. According to the survey data, among the 11.57% households, no child of school going eligible age was found attending the schools. Those parents who can afford tuition fees pay between Rs. 200 and 500 per month from their hard earned monthly income standing to an average between six thousand to eight thousand rupees.

Chart 5.q - Help received by the child in his/her studies at home after school:



5n. Percentage of parents who reported their children's liking to go to school

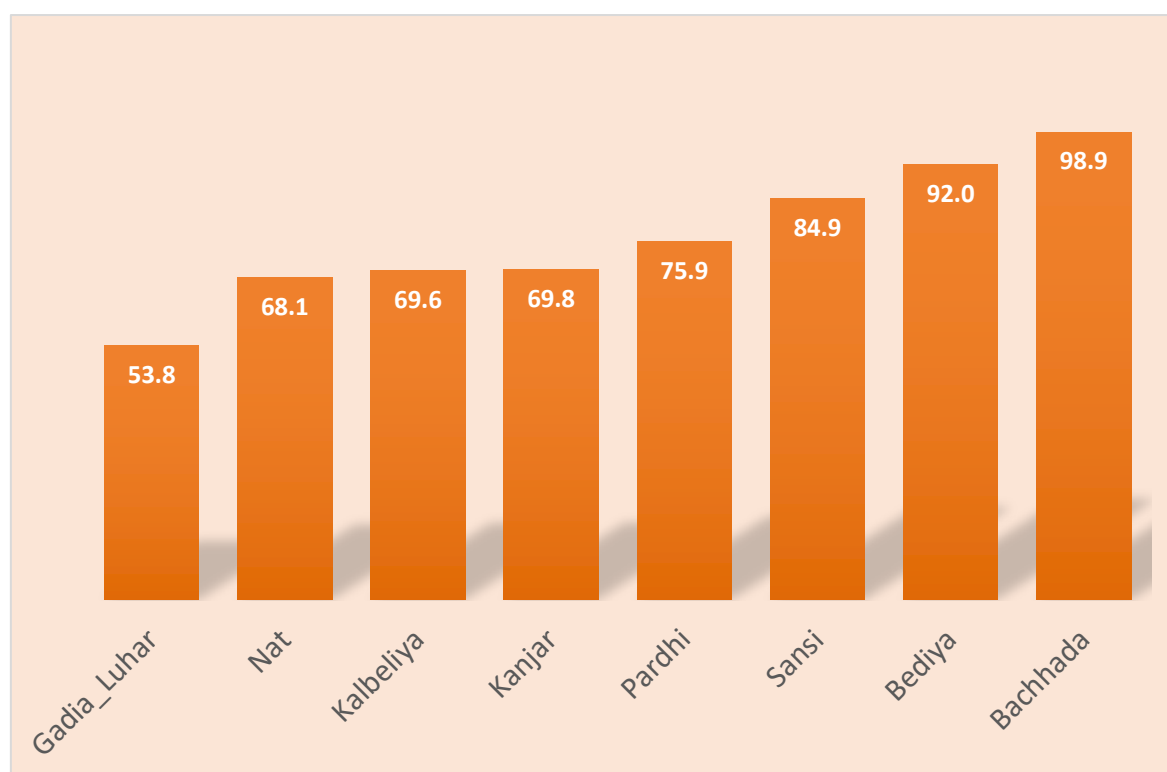
The survey has shown that most of the parents aspire for their children to attend schools regularly. Child's liking and disliking depends on various factors. Different communities have different issues; thus, their children also behave differently. Annexure 5.14 shows that 77.04% children like to go to schools which depends on the encouragement from the parents and teachers and school environment. One general truth is that parents among the DNT communities are ignorant about the education of their children except Kanjar, Sansi and Bedia. They do not really know whether their children like or dislike the school/college. Seldom they go to attend parents-teachers meeting (PTM) to know performance of their ward (see Chart 5.i and Annexure 5.7). Similarly, they do not go to collect report cards and do not heed to the complaints received from school teachers. Government education department has been working regularly through admission drives, mid-day meal program, providing free books and stationery and scholarships (in case of SC & ST) to encourage both the parents and children to increase enrolment and attendance in the schools.

Looking at the survey data we see that the proportion of children attending schools is particularly high among the households who are either themselves educated or aware about the merits of education (see Annexure 4.1). Among the communities like Gadia Luhar, Nat and Kalbelia this percentage is particularly low. This is for various reasons . The survey shows that many children contribute to the professional and household works of their

parents. The social habits of these communities is also such that children do not want to spend much time in the enclosed boundaries of the school. Caste discrimination is another reason that makes children feel alienated from others. This has come to light particularly regarding the children of Gadia Luhar, Nat and Kalbelia communities who are used to spending their time roaming around the village, grazing cattle, begging for food, collecting plastic for petty earnings, playing in fields or helping parents in their work. The disinterest in education and family issues keeps the child away from school.

By contrast, among the Sansi, Bedia and Bachhada communities, children like to attend school. These are settled communities and financially better off than the rest (see Table 7.iv of income distribution). The literacy rate and awareness among these communities is also high. Many among them have gained good jobs through educational qualifications. Literacy among the Bedia and Bacchada women is important as they have to migrate to cities to seek livelihood in sex trade. The level of literacy helps them to bargain better prices. Chart 5.r below illustrates parents perception about the liking of their children to attend schools.

Chart 5.r - Liking of children to attend schools (in percentage):



Annexure 5.14 shows that out of the 2274 households, 1688 parents think that their children like to attend school, while 342 parents feel that they do not have interest in school, and 161

parents have no idea whether their children like or dislike the school. The remaining 83 households have not answered the question.

50. Issues of discrimination faced by the DNT children in school

There are various factors of discrimination which are responsible for a child's interest in studies and school. This survey has noted thirteen important parameters which highly affects the study of a child and his/her interest in the teachers and school. The most common factor is that the child is called by the community name in a derogatory manner.²²² When we specifically look at this in detail (see Annexure 5.15 and Chart 5.s), we notice that 85% households of the Pardhi community have mentioned this fact. The Gadia Luhar, Kanjar, Kalbelia and Nat are also affected by this factor. Bachhada has been shown least affected because the schools are in their locality and other community children are not there. Bachhada, Bedia and Kanjar boys and girls who goes to attend college for higher education has to hide their identity by changing their surnames.

The case of not being paid attention by the teacher is high among the Kanjar community (56.1%). The cases of discrimination in drinking water from the common pot and glass in the school (71.5%), casteist behaviour by the teachers (71.0%), and getting manual works done (68.6%) are found highest among the Pardhi children. Apart from this the senior students from dominant communities abuse girls of Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar communities.²²³ Boys are asked to procure girls for them by the fellow students of other communities. All such discrimination by the teachers and fellow students discourage the DNT children in studies and affects their psychology at the early stage of their childhood.

Table 5.iv - Subjects of discrimination faced by the DNT children in school:

Sr. No.	Types of discrimination	Average of the eight DNT communities under study (in %)
1	Being called by the name of the community in derogatory manner	31.62
2	Made to sit in the back bench	17.32
3	Not paid any attention by the teacher	21.41
4	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	5.67
5	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured	6.78

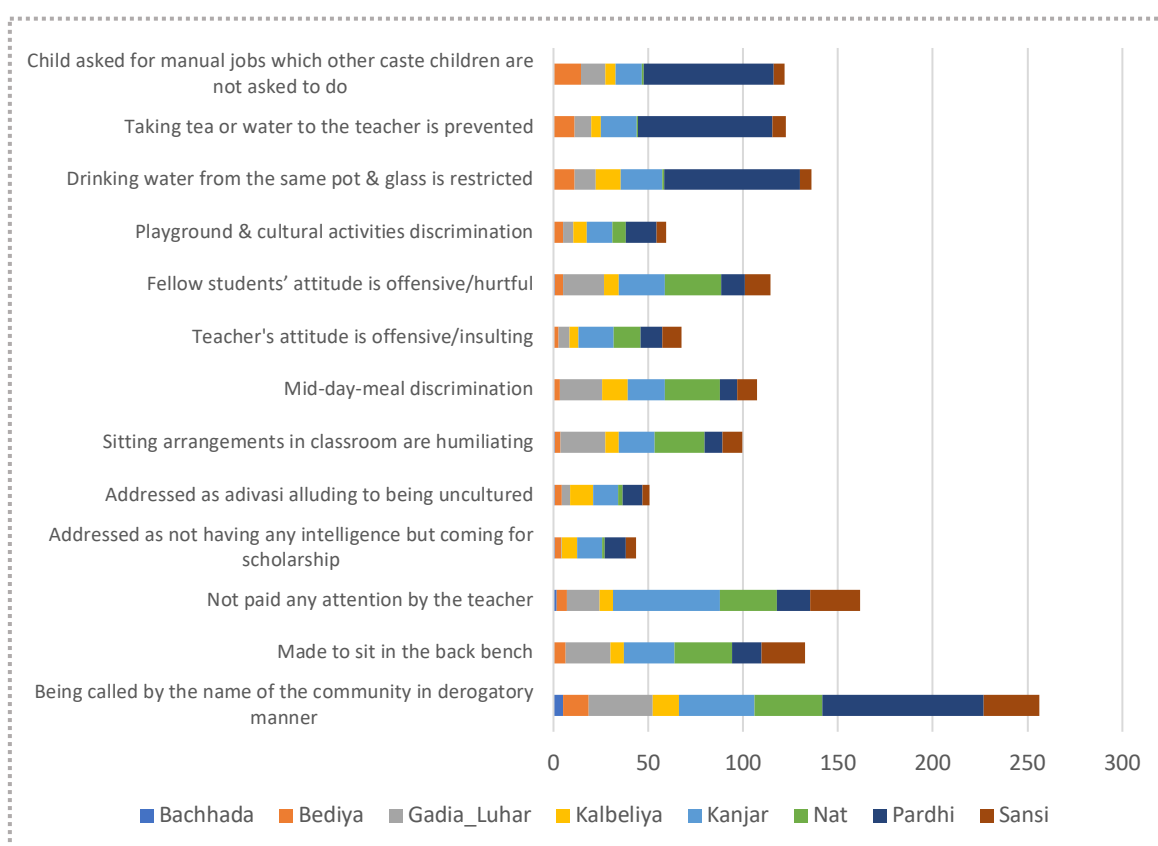
²²² Children of Pardhi are called as *Chidimar* (bird hunter) or *chotta* (thief), those of Kalbelia as *Kaliya* and Gadia Luhar as *Bhikhari* (beggar), Kanjar as *Kabutara* or *Kabutare* (pigeon/pigeons), Bedia as *Bhadwa* (illicit son) and Bachhada children are called *Bachhede*. Similarly calling children with their community names like Kanjar, Sansi and Nat is considered to be abusive.

²²³ According to the surveyors, cases of sexual exploitation also exist.

6	Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	12.29
7	Mid-day-meal discrimination	14.35
8	Teacher's attitude is offensive/insulting	8.69
9	Fellow students' attitude is offensive/hurtful	15.11
10	Playground & cultural activities discrimination	7.62
11	Drinking water from the same pot & glass is restricted	16.26
12	Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	14.27
13	Child asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	14.31

Note: For community wise details of discrimination see Annexure 5.15

Chart 5.s - Kind of discriminations faced by the DNT community children in school according to the survey:

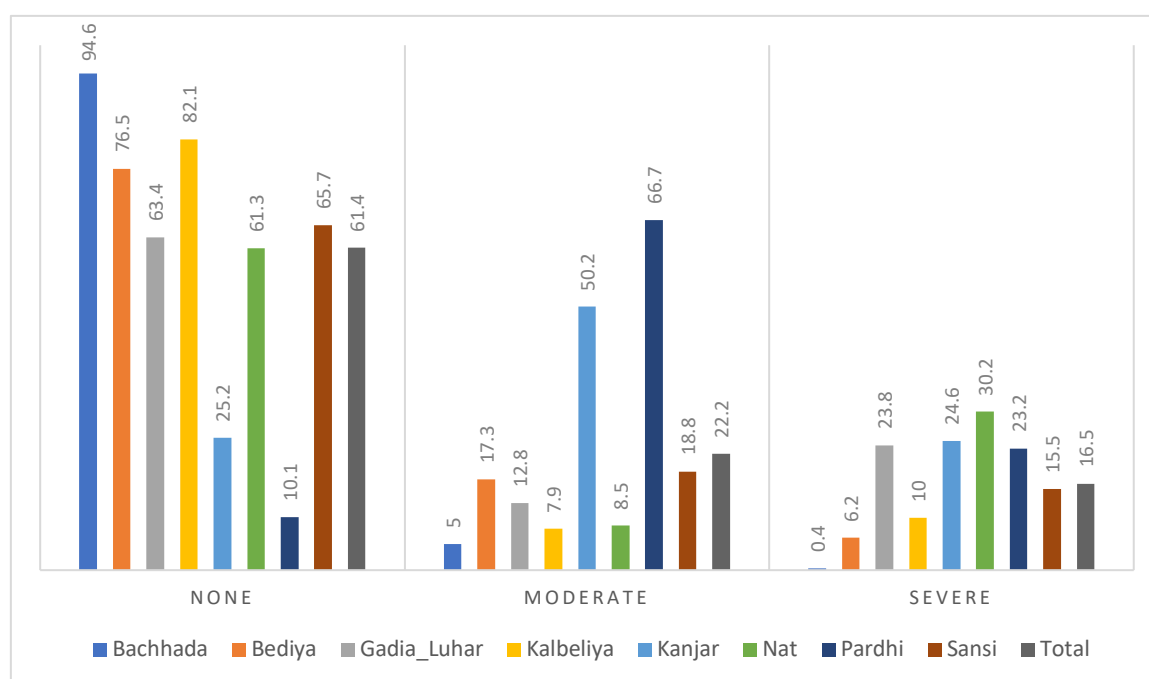


Note: For details see data of discrimination in Annexure 5.15

On accounting the level of discrimination based on the above 13 factors discrimination index has been created ranging from none to moderate to severe (see Table 5.v). The highest level of discrimination is reported from the Nat, Kanjar, Gadia Luhar and Pardhi communities. Nat and Gadia Luhar face high level of discrimination for being called by community's name in a derogatory manner, being ignored by the teacher and also the attitude of fellow students

is negative. Since these communities are sparsely located in villages thus they are discriminated against by the dominant community of the village. Kanjar and Pardhi children are discriminated against by asking them to do manual labour work and casteism related issues.

Chart 5.t - Level of discrimination being faced by the children in school:



Note: For details of discrimination of children in school see Annexure 5.16

On analysing children's liking to go to school affected by the above discrimination, it has been noticed that on average 15% children do not want to go to school (see Table 5.v below). But under the category of severity this percentage stands to 37.4%. This is a subject of concern to address these issues in the conduct of the school environment to increase quality of education among the DNT communities. School discrimination alters psychology of the child leading to inferiority complex among them.

Table 5.v - Children's liking to go to school by the level of discrimination they face in the school:

Discrimination Index	Children like to go to school (in %)		
	Do Not Know	Yes	No
None	13.3	79.9	6.8
Moderate	2.0	76.8	21.2
Severe	2.7	59.9	37.4
Total	9.1	75.9	15.0

Apart from the discrimination due to the above mentioned factors, discrimination also happens due to the wealth status of the family. The more the poverty of the family, more will be the discrimination. Similarly discrimination due to occupations also exists. Fellow students don't want to sit and study with the children of Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar and Nat who beg in the streets and collect plastic. Their unhygienic habits are disliked by the teachers and classmates together. Table 5.vi below illustrates discrimination due to the wealth status.

Table 5.vi - Discrimination level faced by the children in school according to wealth status:

Wealth index	Discrimination level (in %)		
	None	Moderate	Severe
Low	47.8	29.6	22.6
Middle	57.3	24.4	18.3
High	80.0	12.0	8.0
Total	61.5	22.1	16.4

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AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN EDUCATION

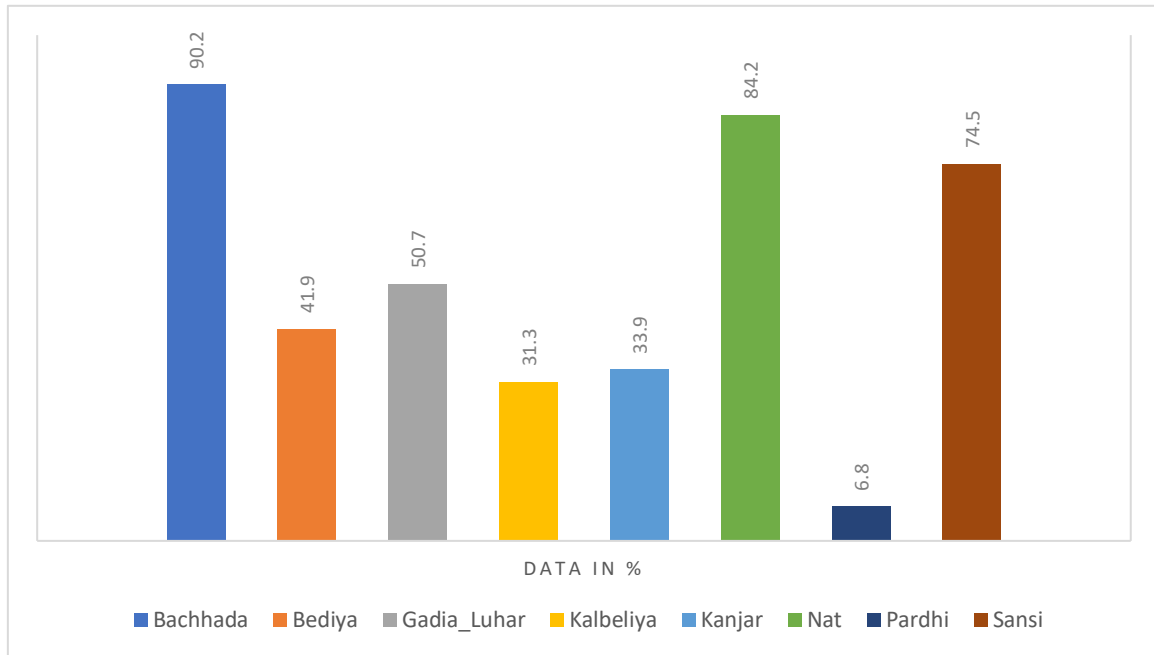
This section deals with various initiatives taken by the education and social welfare department to benefit the students, particularly those who belong to the SC, ST and OBC reserved category. Various schemes are run for providing scholarships, free coaching, hostel facilities, free textbooks and stationery, mid-day meal, cycle and laptops to the meritorious students, and concession in transportation. These schemes greatly help the DNT students. For example in Rajasthan residential schools have been established for children of those communities who remain in migration (Nomadic Tribes) and also for those family's children whose parents are into beggary. Similarly scholarships are provided to the SC, ST & OBC communities, under which some of the DNT communities children also benefit.

6.a Knowledge about the welfare/affirmative action schemes for children education

Survey data shows that only half (51.5%) of the people have admitted to have benefited (by any) of the above schemes. But this percentage is very low among the Pardhi (only 6.8%) because they have been listed differently in different districts of Madhya Pradesh i.e. SC, ST, OBC and general category (see Map-3). Similarly Bedia and Kanjar who fall in the SC category are also not benefiting much from these schemes. It has been noticed that to avail the benefits, parents need to be educated to be able to assert their rights. Otherwise due to their ignorance, children also suffer.

The survey conducted on 2274 families among the eight DNT communities has revealed the following data illustrated in Chart 6.a (and Annexure 6.1) below. It shows that parents among the Bachhada, Nat and Sansi community are most aware about the affirmative schemes which has various reasons. Many NGOs working among the Nat and Bachhada have taken initiatives in education, while Sansi are already aware of such schemes due to good literacy rate among them.

Chart 6.a - Percentage aware regarding affirmative action schemes for child education:



Note: For more details see Annexure 6.1

Below is a list (Table 6.i) of various schemes meant for school children. The data shows percentage of households who are benefitting from them.

Table 6.i - Benefits from the various schemes for school education:

Sr. No.	Schemes	Number of households in the survey getting benefit	
		In number	In percentage
1	Reservation benefit	394	17.32%
2	Scholarships	535	23.52%
3	Remedial/other coaching	35	1.53%
4	Pre-admission coaching	15	0.65%
5	Hostel Facilities	97	4.26%
6	Tuition fee waiver	240	10.55%
7	Vocational training/capacity building	28	1.23%
8	Free textbook /Stationery/ Notebooks/ Uniform	743	32.67%
9	Free food/MDM & Accommodation	688	30.25%
10	Cycle	124	5.45%
11	Laptop 75%	29	1.27%
12	Transportation	6	0.26%

Among the DNT members who fall under the reservation category, 17.32% have acknowledged that they get reservation benefits, though it is limited to scholarships only. Under the scholarship section, 23.52% households have verified that their children are getting scholarships which start from primary (class-VI) standard in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. There are only 1.53% households who have mentioned the remedial classes for their children. Such remedial classes are generally taken by the NGOs working in the region or sometime by the school itself when board exams approach.

In the 0.65% households children are attending coaching classes to qualify for entrance exams for higher studies. Children from 4.26% households are availing hostel facility. This pertains to the SC, ST and OBC hostel facilities provided by the Deptt. of Social Welfare. In Madhya Pradesh hostels for DNT are run by the Aadim Jati Kalyan Vibhag. In Rajasthan, the Gadia Luhar community has separate residential hostels in Chittorgarh. No such benefits exists in Gujarat as the DNT communities are listed under the OBC category.

Under the tuition fees waiver, 10.55% households have availed benefits. This generally pertains to the private schools under the economically weaker section (EWS) reservation benefits. Children from 1.23% households have received vocational and capacity building trainings. Free textbooks are provided in government schools up to class-XII standard. Here 32.67% household have received the benefits. Free food under the mid-day meal scheme is provided in government schools till class-VIII standard to increase attendance in schools and to check malnutrition. Children from 30.25% households have availed the facility out of the total 66.2% enrolled children (Table 4.iii). Rest of the children either above the class-VIII standard or in private schools where free mid-day meals are not provided. The quality of the mid-day meal in schools of the DNT settlements is also a matter of concern apart from the caste discrimination.

In Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh cycles are provided to all the girls who pass class-VIII and enter into class-IX. Here girls from 5.45% households have benefited. Laptops are given to students on the basis of district merit. Generally it stands at more than 85%. In the survey 1.27% households have benefited from it. Transportation concession is given to students to attend school for monthly travel passes (bus) made by the state roadways department. Data shows that only six households have availed this facility.

Many of the households have reported problems of not having caste certificates to avail these benefits. The scholarship amounts are also insufficient to meet the child's expenses. Facilities at the hostels have been reported to be of inferior quality with poor food. Caste and regional discrimination (between different castes of SC, ST and OBC) exists in the hostels.

6.b DNT community rights v/s discrimination

According to Article 17 of the Constitution of India caste discrimination is illegal on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Further, the Article has made untouchability a punishable offence. But in rural areas this kind of casteism is deep rooted and extends to the school premises also. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations General Assembly states that everyone has the right to education for full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It also talks of tolerance among all nations, religions or racial groups. The policies in India are aimed at achieving equity in education. This is possible only when, 'the school environments create spaces for the inclusion of communities which were historically and unfairly disadvantaged making sure the system caters to the diverse needs of all the children'.²²⁴

Both the National Policy on Education, 1986 and the Right to Education Act of 2009 were aimed to give equal opportunities to children from across society to eliminate various forms of discrimination. But it has been found that the teachers and staff themselves primarily practice caste based discrimination. Anshuman Mruthunjaya asks, 'How free and fair is education if students from marginalised communities are asked to sit separately, eat separately, are made to clean classrooms and toilets and are abused and beaten?'²²⁵ Harsh Mander writes in The Hindu dated November 28, 2015²²⁶ - Many children report that their teachers taunt them routinely with caste stereotypes. The Chharas in Gujarat are a de-notified tribe, regarded by the British as criminal, and still burdened by the same stigma. When Tarun, enrolled in a primary school in Naroda, Ahmedabad, and could not keep pace with his classmates, the teacher retorted, "You Chharas should not try to study, you should only sweep the floors. You will not be able to do anything with your life." So knowing these facts of the school education system, especially in remote rural areas one can imagine the kind of treatment that the DNT children get who are considered to be at the bottom of the caste hierarchy though actually like the Adivasi these communities are not caste based. They have been brought under SC, ST and OBC categories and introduced to the structures of these community categories. So they are fighting a dual battle - the stigma of DNTs as well as the burden of the new categorisation. To some extent such categorisation has brought them

²²⁴ M Pallikonda and A Judith, *"Exclusion in Schools, A Study on Practice of Discrimination and Violence"*, National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights–NCDHR, New Delhi, 2017.

²²⁵ Anshuman Mruthunjaya, Age of Awareness, April 21, 2019. See - <https://medium.com/age-of-awareness/caste-based-discrimination-in-indian-schools-21b477be395c>

²²⁶ Harsh Mander, 'Schools of Dishonour', The Hindu, November 28, 2015. See https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/columns/Harsh_Mander/harsh-mander-on-how-dalit-children-continue-to-bear-the-brunt-of-untouchability/article7923873.ece

nearer to protective measures but at the same time they are enforced upon with categories that they never belonged to in the first place.

The fourth Sustainable Development Goal is to 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'.²²⁷ Under SDG, the emphasis is on quality education, but this cannot be achieved while inequality persists in India's education system. Target 4.5 of the SDG is to, 'by 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations'.²²⁸ It aims for 'inclusion and equity' - where all people, irrespective of sex, age, race, colour, ethnicity, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property or birth, as well as persons with disabilities, migrants, indigenous peoples, and children and youth, especially those in vulnerable situations or other status, should have access to inclusive, equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities. Vulnerable groups and people with disabilities, indignity, ethnic minorities and the poor are the subject of attention under it. Similarly it also advocates for gender inequality - All girls and boys, women and men, should have equal opportunity to enjoy education of high quality, achieve at equal levels and enjoy equal benefits from education.

Education and literacy are the key indicators of a society's overall socio-economic development and of a country as a whole. Excluding the DNTs in the development would not lead to the achievement of SDGs by the year 2030.

The Right To Education Act of the Government of India also emphasizes 'building a curriculum in consonance with the values enshrined in the Constitution to ensure all round development of the child, building on the child's knowledge, potentiality and talent and making the child free of fear, trauma and anxiety through a system of child friendly and child centred learning'.²²⁹ Similarly, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan programme (Education for All) ensures free and compulsory education for 6-14 years old as a constitutional right. It mandates that no child in this age group remain out of school, and are enrolled in age appropriate grades. Despite all these Acts, SDGs and the Constitutional rights, it is a matter of shame that they have not been met uniformly, especially in the case of DNT communities.

None of the educational surveys have ever accounted the education status of the DNT communities. In India there are very few organisations working for DNT education and their social development. There are very few funders who supports the cause of these

²²⁷ See sustainabledevelopment.un.org

²²⁸ See <https://sdg4education2030.org/the-goal>

²²⁹ See <https://ris.org.in/newasiaforum/achieving-sdg-4-india-moving-quantity-quality-education-all>

communities. The states may have welfare and development boards but they have remained inefficient to influence development policies of the government in favour of the DNTs. There are few funders and NGOs who supports their cause.

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OCCUPATION, INCOME & EXPENDITURE

The DNT communities are in transition when it comes to the subject of occupation. Among them many are still associated with their traditional professions while others have switched to labour jobs in the unorganized sector or choose unskilled works to find a livelihood. Works like collection of plastic scrap, begging on streets, selling plastic toys (see Picture 41), woolen blankets, etc. are newfound jobs, not associated traditionally with them. With the growth in education some are also finding employment in the private sector. People among the artist community have developed their own enterprises like marriage DJ bands and registered performance groups. Those who have parental agriculture land are found doing agriculture if irrigation facilities are available and the soil is of a reasonable quality. But since the land holdings are small, they have to find secondary work to supplement the family income. Government jobs are rare (less than 1%) as these communities cannot compete with the rest in the reserved or general caste categories to qualify the exams. Many of their traditional professions have been made illegal and banned under various acts such as the Wild Life (Protection) Act-1972, Excise Act, Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, POSCO or the Bovine Animal Act etc. Communities like Pardhi, Kanjar, Sansi, Kalbelia and Kanjar are still suspected of thefts and robberies and recognized as criminal gangs by the police department. Thus, the fear of prosecution has restricted the traditional occupations of these communities. And those who have tried to continue are prosecuted.

7.a Traditional occupations

In the survey 59.2% households have stated they practice their traditional professions while 40.8% have stopped and switched to new works. Among the traditional professions, agriculture has been listed as the major profession by most of the communities except the

Gadia Luhar, whether they have land holdings or not. Some of the important traditional professions noted in the survey are as under:

Table 7.i - Types of traditional professions practiced by the DNT communities under study:

Making of country liquor	Beggary	Animal Husbandry	Prostitution	Snake Charming
Scrap collection	Hunting of birds and mammals	Chakri dance among the patrons	Rai dance among the patrons	Dancing & singing
Farm guards	Collection of medicinal herbs from the forest	Black Smith	Juggling	Shoe polishing
Agriculture	Selling of red and white clay	Drum playing in ceremonial functions	Bangle selling (Manihaari)	Theft and robbery
Labour work in farms	Rope walking	Acrobatics	Behrupiya (impostor)	Stonework

The parents and grandparents of 40.8% households have given up their traditional professions due to various reasons and challenges faced by them in the developed society. Some of them are listed here:

1. The forest has been demarcated as a wildlife reserved area and a high boundary wall has been constructed. This has prevented entry of the Pardhi to hunt in the forest for food.
2. The snake charming practice was banned in 1991 in India under The Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972. The traditional practice of keeping Cobra snakes has been banned under the Schedule-2 Part-1 of the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972.²³⁰ The Kalbelia community has been highly affected by this. They are still suspected by the police and forest officials of keeping snakes and many a time their houses are raided.
3. Similarly, the Pardhi and Kanjar are banned from hunting partridges under the Schedule-4 of the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972.²³¹
4. People stopped buying raw *geru* and *khadiya* (red and white) colours from the Kalbelia after the introduction of distemper colour paints. *Geru* and *khadiya* were used on mud walls of the *kutchha* houses. Now mostly concrete houses are built where such colours are no more used.
5. Young girls among the Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar community are leaving prostitution to live a respectable life. Many have also got married.

²³⁰ See http://wiienviis.nic.in/database/schedulespeciesdatabase_7969.aspx

²³¹ See http://wiienviis.nic.in/database/schedulespeciesdatabase_7969.aspx

6. Making of illicit liquor is banned under the State Excise Act.²³² Unlike Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat is declared as a dry state thus the manufacture or consumption of liquor without a license is a punishable offence. The National Security Act prohibits making of illicit liquor. This stringent Act can be invoked against anyone found making, stocking or trading in illicit liquor. Though illicit liquor is a matter of the Excise Deptt. the Police Deptt. intervenes and troubles members of the Kanjar, Sansi, Bachhada & Nat communities involved in making and selling it. This is basically for extortion of money from them. Thus, the present generation has given up this profession switching to other options of livelihood.
7. The making of traditional iron tools by the Gadia Luhar community used for agriculture has become a non-lucrative job. With the introduction of machinery there is very little demand for the traditional iron tools. Finding less income in this the Gadia Luhar community has switched to selling readymade utensils and tools earning them a little profit margin. Those living in the urban areas have switched to buying and selling scrap from the demolished old houses. Many among them also take contracts for demolishing old houses to collect scrap which can earn them good money.
8. With encroachment on waste lands and a ban on grazing in buffer zones of the forest, many cattle grazers have given up keeping cattle.
9. The Nat and Kanjar (Bijori Kanjari) were once patronized by their patrons for reciting their genealogies. At the same time, they would also entertain them with their acrobatic stunts and collect gifts in form of clothes, ghee, grains, cattle and cash. But now the young generation among their patrons view them as beggars and avoid entertaining them when they visit them.
10. Similarly, the Behrupiya are also looked down upon by peoples as beggars rather than artists. They are also suspected by the locals as burglars. Sometimes police charge them under the Anti-Beggary Act.

Thus, out of these multiple issues - implementations of the new policies and laws and the attitude of the people which has discouraged many of the artist communities from continuing their practices. Many of the traditional livelihood practices have been marked illegal. This has caused most of the DNT community people to switch to unskilled labour-oriented jobs thus losing their professional identities. See Annexure-7.1 for variety of works in which the DNT community are presently involved. Among them many have migrated to cities to earn a living.

²³² Liquor sale or ban on it is a state matter.

7.b Present occupations

The survey data shows that from the total 2274 households, 3036 persons have responded in the primary occupation section while 1637 households have answered for the secondary occupation. In both the sections some of the households have not liked to disclose their occupations particularly if they are related to prostitution, making of illicit liquor, hunting of wild animals and birds or theft due to fear of prosecution and maintaining their privacy. Such data may be higher than what it is featured here. Beggary has also been listed as an occupation because that is the only source of earning for some of the communities like Kalbelia, Pardhi and Nat who have been traditionally begging and still continue to do so due to poverty and illiteracy. The chart below shows major Primary and Secondary occupations practiced by the eight DNT communities under the survey. More than 50 different categories of occupations have been listed in the survey. See Table No. 7.ii below.

Table 7.ii - List of primary and secondary professions listed in the survey of 4673 members among the 2274 households under the survey:

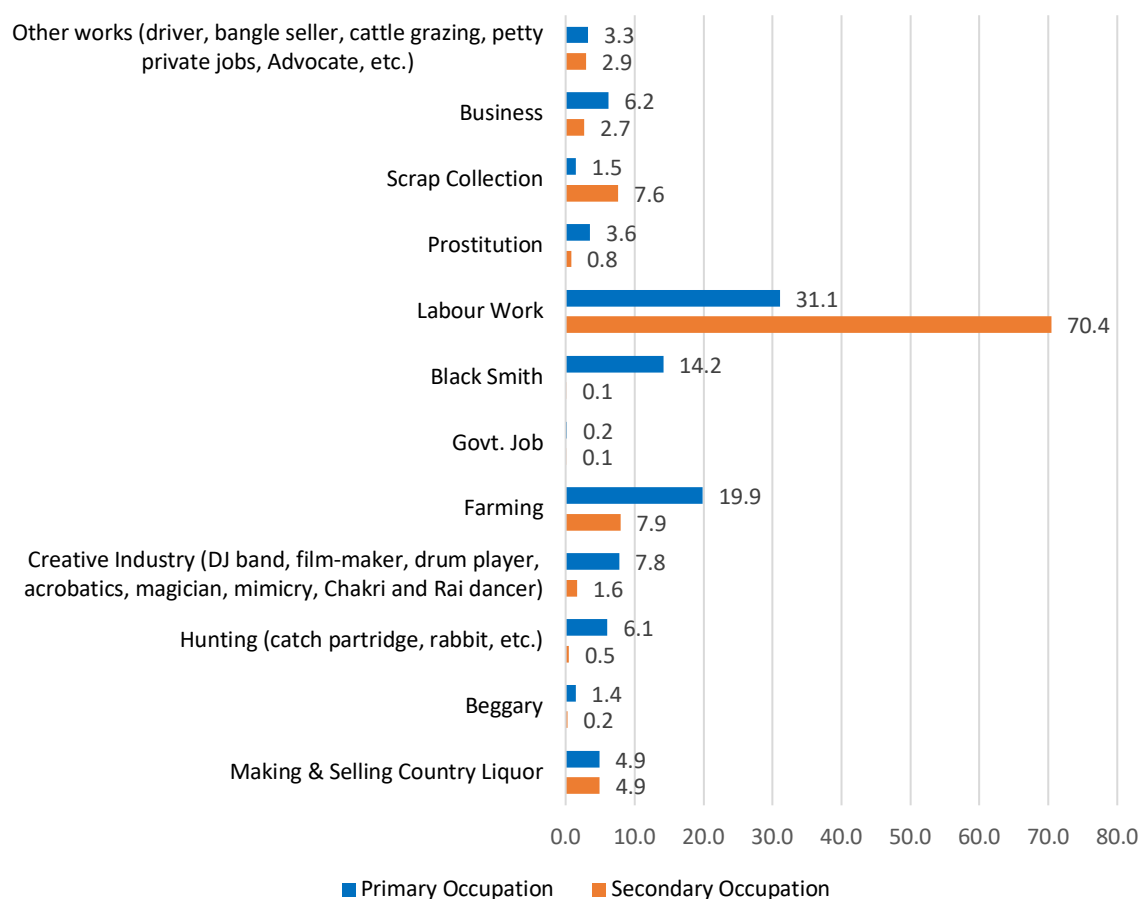
Sr. No.	Types of Primary and Secondary occupations listed in the survey	Total	
		Primary	Secondary
1	Making & Selling Country Liquor	149	81
2	Driving Autorickshaw	17	2
3	Driving Bullock Cart	2	0
4	Bangle or Necklace Seller, Manihaari & Herbs	9	14
5	Begging	44	4
6	Private jobs (tent house, agent, conductor, MR, etc.)	9	11
7	Hunting (catching partridge, rabbit, etc.)	184	8
8	Construction Contractor	2	1
9	Creative Industry (film-maker, producer)	1	0
10	Artists (DJ band, drum player, acrobatics, magician, mimicry)	147	15
11	Chakri Dancer	74	5
12	Rai Dancer	14	7
13	Driver	34	4
14	Electrician	1	0
15	Farming	604	130
16	Finance	8	0
17	General Store	4	1
18	Journalist	1	0
19	Cattle Grazing	1	1
20	Govt. Job	5	1

21	Black Smith	430	2
22	Labouring Work & Wage Labour	935	1150
23	NGO Worker	3	0
24	Prostitution	108	13
25	Scrap Collection	45	125
26	Shopkeeper (general store, cloth store)	4	11
27	Snake Charmer	1	0
28	Teacher	3	0
29	Animal Husbandry	0	4
30	Caterers	3	2
31	Toy Seller	0	1
32	Theft	0	1
33	Advocate	9	0
34	Business	7	30
35	Welding Work	1	0
36	NREGA	0	5
37	Worker	1	1
38	Water Supplier	1	0
39	Readymade ironmongery such as window frames and gates	1	2
40	Yajmani (genealogist & entertainers)	0	1
41	House related work	163	0
42	Aasha Worker	1	1
43	Gadhwala	3	0
44	Tea Lorry	1	0
45	Selling Glass	0	1
46	Living off pension	1	1
47	Cleaner	0	1
48	Beautician	1	0
49	Sewing work	1	0
50	Disabled	1	0
51	Fish breeder	1	0
52	Librarian	1	0
	TOTAL	3036	1637

The fifty-two professions listed above have been narrowed down into 11 primary and secondary occupations to take a broader look at them. Chart 7.a below illustrates this data. The survey data shows that unskilled labouring work is the primary occupation option for 31.1% DNT households (percentage accounted from the 3036 households who have listed labour work as their primary occupations). Labour work is common among most of the DNT

communities under study. In the secondary occupation category this percentage doubles the primary occupation ratio. It stands at 70.4% which shows that most of the DNT members have to choose labour as secondary occupation to substantiate their primary income which is not sufficient for sustenance of the family expenditure.

Chart 7.a - Percentage wise distribution of the primary and secondary occupations among the eight DNT communities:



Note: The chart has been derived from the data in Annexure 7.2

According to Table 7.iii and Chart 7.b, 29.3% households have acknowledged possession of agriculture land. But in the survey only 19.9% households are involved in farming as primary occupation while 7.9% have shown it as their secondary occupation. Farming as secondary occupation is generally chosen by those families who may not have agriculture land but work seasonally on other's land like the Kalbelia community. The table and chart below list the ratio of availability of agriculture land against the actual practice of farming by the DNT communities.

Table 7.iii - Comparative percentage between possession of agriculture land and farming as occupation among the DNT community under survey:

Data in %	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Possession of Agriculture Land	59.0	50.2	0.0	23.1	49.8	9.4	23.7	18.8	29.3
Farming as an Occupation (Average of Primary + Secondary)	46.8	19.0	0.0	25.8	39.6	7.7	1.0	14.8	20.1

In the data analysis, average 20.1% households are practicing agriculture as primary and secondary occupation (see Table 7.iii). According to the Table 7.iii.a, 89.3% households (whose primary occupation is farming) have casual labour as secondary occupation to support their family income because earning from agriculture is not sufficient for them. Similarly in Table 7.iii.b, people who shows farming as secondary occupation, 66% are involved in casual labour and 21% in prostitution to support their living. This figure is accounted for the Bachhada, Kanjar and Bedia communities.

Table 7.iii.a - Secondary occupation of those whose primary occupation is farming (Total of Urban & Rural, data in %):

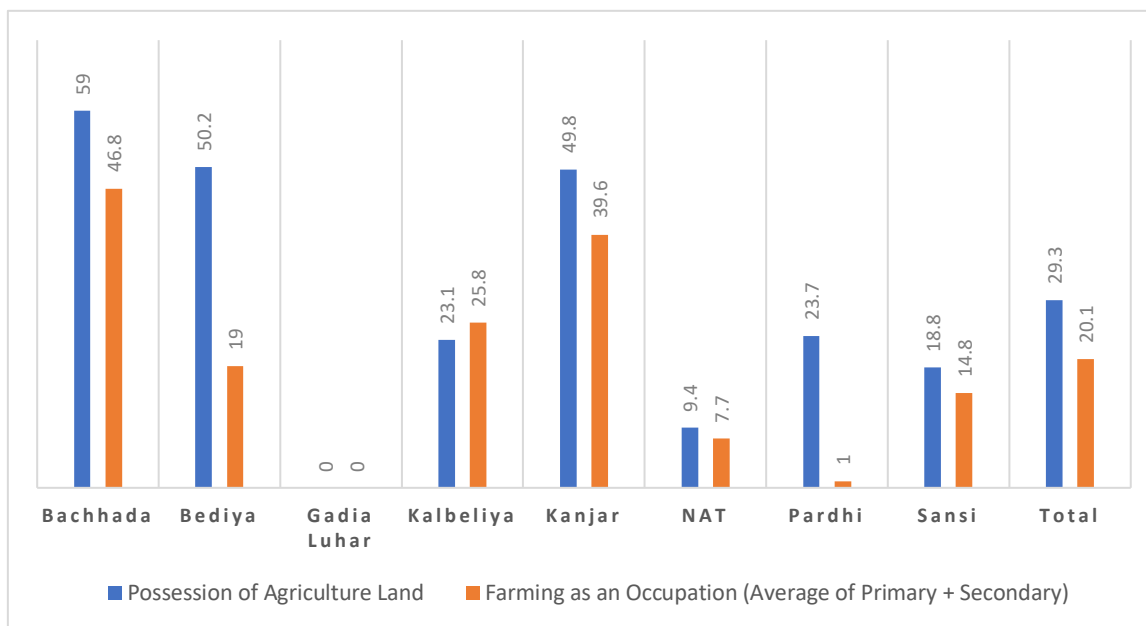
Farming	Country liquor	Beggary	Prostitution	Scrap	Driver	Casual labour	Small business	Formal employment	Total
1.53	3.06	0.26	0.77	0.26	0.51	89.29	4.08	0.26	100

Table 7.iii.b - Primary occupation of those whose Secondary occupation is farming (Total of Urban & Rural, data in %):

Farming	Country liquor	Beggary	Artist/ Entertainment	Prostitution	Casual labour	Formal employment	Total
6	4	1	1	21	66	1	100

The above data also directly corresponds to migration of these communities to cities in search of the casual labour work. The migration itself poses various challenges in their life right from education of their child to food security. Apart from this the cultural shift that takes place affects the psyche of child and the parents.

Chart 7.b - Difference between the possession of agriculture land and farming as occupation among the DNT community under survey:



Agricultural land cannot be farmed if there is no water source or seasonal rain. The use of it and therefore the income will differ from year to year. According to the data, 7.8% households are primarily dependent on entertainment practices like DJ Bands and Chakri Dance (by the Kanjar, see Picture 22), Rai dance (Bedia), ceremonial drum playing and acrobatic stunts (Nat), Kalbelia Dance, etc. Hunting of birds and rabbit has also been listed as primary occupation (6.1%) by the Pardhi and Kanjar community. Though such activities are banned by the forest department, but many still practice them to earn their livelihood and for their food. These are secretly sold to other communities for consumption. Thus, these communities are always under surveillance by the police and the forest department officials. Many are booked under the Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972 and languish in jails for years. Read about different sections of wildlife crime attributed to the DNT communities in general in Table 12.i.

The Gadia Luhar community still practice their traditional black smith work (14.2%) as their primary occupation and many among them do labour work as a secondary occupation. Similar to the Gadia Luhar many other communities have taken up labour work as secondary occupation thus we find the percentage of secondary occupation as labour work (70.4% out of 1637 members) exceeds the primary percentage (31.1% out of 3036 members). Similarly, many households have registered scrap collection as their secondary occupation (7.6%) which exceeds the primary one (1.5%). Prostitution (by Bedia, Bacchada & Kanjar) and making country liquor (by Kanjar, Sansi, Bachhada & Nat) have also been listed as 3.6% and 4.9% respectively under the primary occupation category, but it also falls in the

secondary occupation with little less or equal percentage of 0.8% and 4.9%. Both the practices are marked illegal and thus these communities are regularly harassed by the police, state excise and forest departments. Many have not disclosed this as their profession otherwise this percentage would be higher.

One thing to note about the traditional professions which are marked as illegal practices and still practiced by the DNT communities as either Primary or Secondary (like liquor making, prostitution, hunting, etc.) is that they earn their livelihood and sustainability from these. They have no other option to choose from, based on their educational and skill levels. These professions still add to the national income and save these communities from distressed poverty (see Annexure 7.5).

Government jobs has been listed by only six households (0.2%) among the 2274 total households (and 2 persons in secondary occupation). With this one can understand that these communities have not been able to harness the benefit of education and reservation facility provided for their upliftment. There is also a small percentage of households who are involved in grazing cattle and private enterprise jobs, like driver, bangle seller, Lawyer, etc. to earn their living. This accounts for 3.3% in primary occupation and 2.9% in secondary occupation.

Apart from the above data there are a few households in which the household head is a woman (sometime a widow), who has listed her occupation as household work or pensioner.

7.c Income

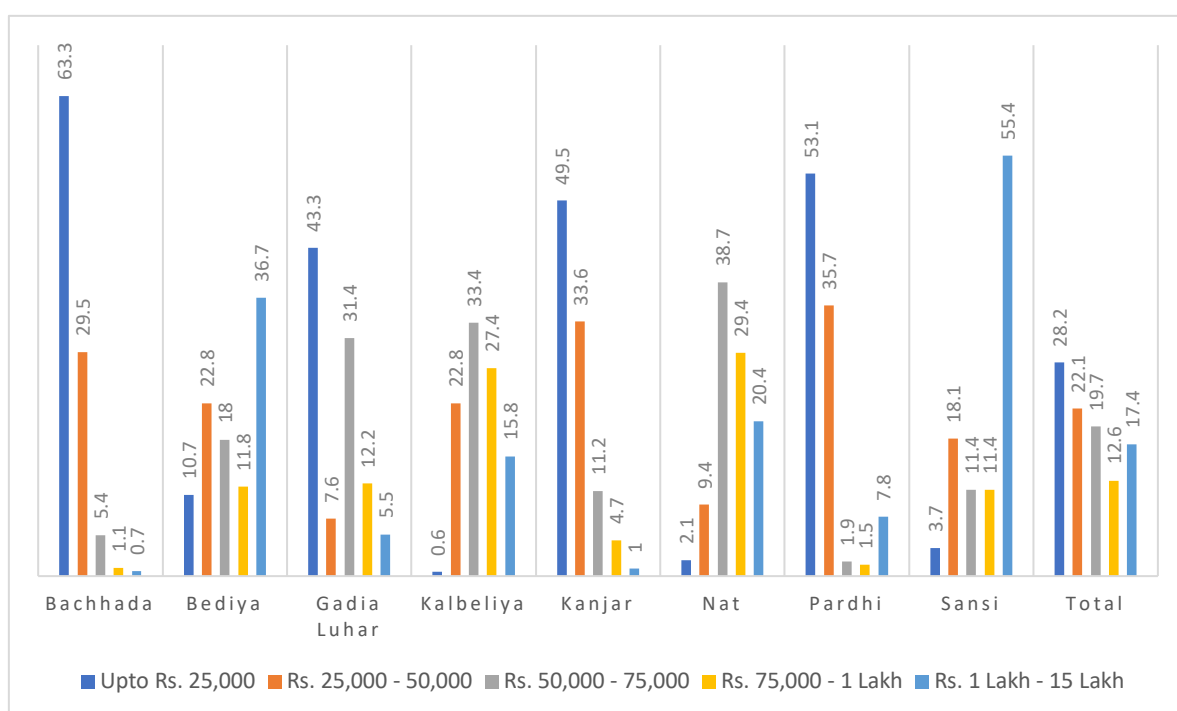
The income from the above occupations ranges from Rs. 10,000 to little more than Rs. 1 Lakh annually. The nature of occupations is such that income is not uniform and depends on various factors like the monsoon in the case of farming or making iron tools. Labour work is seasonal and temporary. Selling country liquor and prostitution are affected when there are raids by the police (and excise department in case of liquor). The matter of uncertainty is always present. And many a time a large sum of income is taken away in legal cases and in giving bribes to the officials. During the last COVID pandemic year 2020-21 most of the DNT communities have faced a harsh time in terms of livelihood and income. But this subject is not dealt here because the survey was completed by Feb. 2020 before the start of the pandemic. The table below (accounting for both rural and urban) shows five annual income slabs and their percentage among the 2274 households. It includes the income from both primary and secondary occupations. This percentage drastically changes when we compare the rural and urban data (see Annexure 7.3 & 7.4) side by side. Below is the table and chart which explains the average data of income distribution among the DNT communities under study.

Table 7.iv - Annual income distribution across DNT communities (Rural & Urban). Data in %:

Total Income	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Upto 25,000	63.3	10.7	43.3	0.6	49.5	2.1	53.1	3.7	28.2
25,000 - 50,000	29.5	22.8	7.6	22.8	33.6	9.4	35.7	18.1	22.1
50,000 - 75,000	5.4	18	31.4	33.4	11.2	38.7	1.9	11.4	19.7
75,000 - 1 Lakh	1.1	11.8	12.2	27.4	4.7	29.4	1.5	11.4	12.6
1 Lakh-15 Lakh	0.7	36.7	5.5	15.8	1	20.4	7.8	55.4	17.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: For Rural-Urban bifurcation see Annexure 7.4

Chart 7.c - Income distribution across communities (Rural & Urban). Data in %:



Note: This chart is based on above Table 7.iv.

The total income ratio shows that maximum members of the DNT community (28.2%) fall in the income group of upto Rs 25,000, followed by 22.1% in the income group of Rs. 25,000 to 50,000, 19.7% in the income group of Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 75,000, 12.6% in the income group of Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 1 Lakh and 17.4% in the income group of Rs. 1 Lakh to Rs. 4 Lakh. Around 82.6% population has an annual income of less than 1 Lakh which shows that more than this percentage of households should be under the BPL category.²³³ But according

²³³ The level of the households income to qualify as Below Poverty Line varies from state to state.

to the present survey regarding the possession of BPL cards (see Table 3.vi), only 48.3% households have BPL Cards. Based on the Tendulkar poverty line, Planning Commission released poverty data for 2011-12. The number of poor in the country was estimated at 21.9% of the population.²³⁴ But in case of the DNTs this percentage of poverty stands three times than the national average.

On further analyzing the above table, the household income of Bachhada, Kanjar, Pardhi and Gadia Luhar is much less than the others. This encourages the first three communities to commit crime and involve in unlawful activities. Gadia Luhar children and women beg in villages and cities to eat and supplement the family expenditure on food. In past few years women among the Gadia Luhar are entering into prostitution due to severe poverty. This fact is alarming as it may lead the community to another level of distress and social backwardness.

On dividing the above data into rural and urban, there is a great variation. For example, the income of Bedia community in rural areas is much less compared to their counterparts in urban cities. In rural areas around 75% households earn less than Rs. 1 lakh, while in urban areas 28.8% households earn below 1 Lakh. In urban areas 71.23% households earn above Rs. 1 lakh (see Annexure 7.4). Similarly other communities' income is also much less in rural areas as compared to their people in cities. When looking at this data in total, only 9.6% DNT households earn above Rs. 1 lakh in rural areas while in urban areas this ratio is 30.9%. Thus, while considering the financial status of the DNT communities their income must be seen in a rural-urban perspective. The nature of occupation is also an important deciding factor which varies among these communities.

Income from the traditional professions:

In Annexure 7.5, the annual income from various occupations categorized into twelve broader categories of the DNTs is listed including the traditional ones. It varies from couple of thousand rupees to lakh. We see that major income from the traditional occupations is featured under the Primary Occupation. The traditional occupations like making and selling of country liquor, beggary, hunting, artistic practice, blacksmith and prostitution (total 7 out of 12) amounts to a substantial income for the DNT communities though some of them are marked illegal. The Kanjar, Sansi and Bachhada are found earning from making country liquor (Rs. 95,795); Pardhi from hunting; Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar earn substantial amount from prostitution (Rs. 1,68,581); and some members of the Kalbelia, Nat and Pardhi survive out of begging (Rs. 43,469). These figures show that traditional occupations are major source of income for survival of the DNT communities under study.

²³⁴ See <https://niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2020-05/press-note-poverty-2011-12-23-08-16.pdf>

7.d Family expenditure

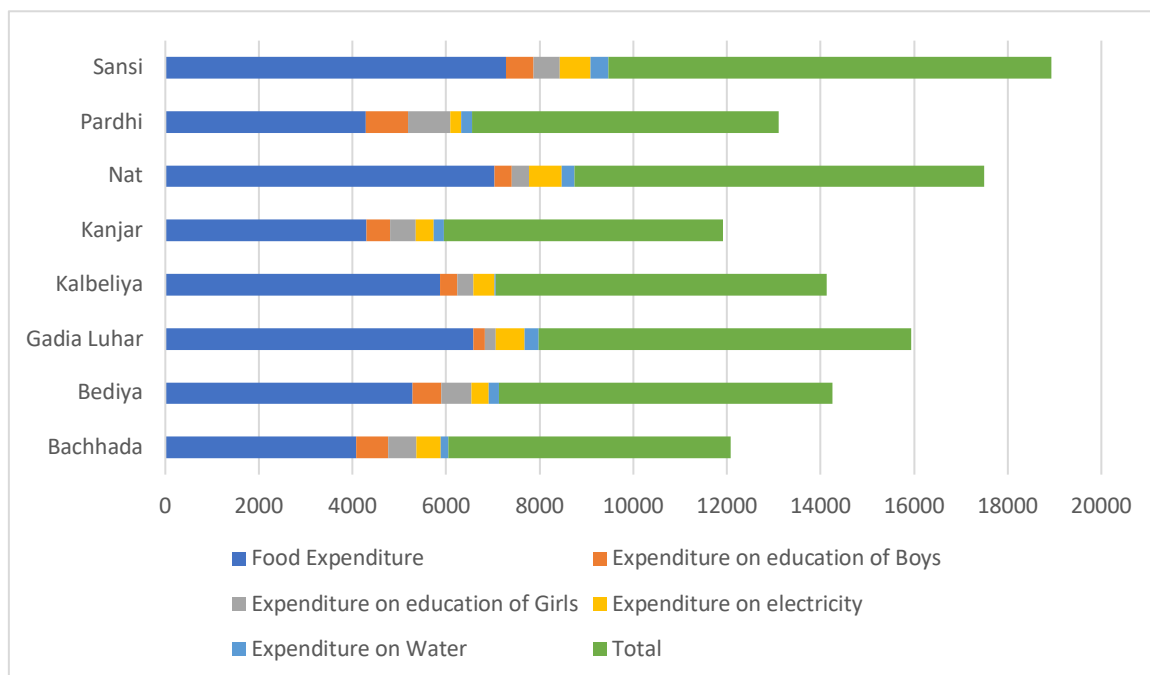
The expenditure listed in two of the tables (Table 7.v & 7.vi) and charts (Chart 7.d & Chart 7.e) below illustrates monthly expenditure of the household plus subsidiary annual expenditure which happens only when the circumstances/event arise due to the ceremonial function or emergency of some nature. The emergency generally relates to health emergency, police cases, bribes, and caste panchayat which collect penalties for disputes.

Table 7.v - Monthly household expenditure (total of urban + rural, figure in rupees):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Food expenditure ²³⁵	4081	5281	6576	5875	4302	7036	4280	7278
Expenditure on education of Boys	680	615	252	362	507	360	907	592
Expenditure on education of Girls	607	640	228	351	540	371	899	556
Expenditure on electricity	521	377	613	442	389	701	230	660
Expenditure on Water	153	217	302	33	220	281	236	383
Total	6042	7130	7971	7063	5958	8749	6552	9469

Note: For rural-urban bifurcation see Annexure-7.6

Chart 7.d - Monthly household expenditure (in rupees):



²³⁵ Cereals, Gram, Cereal substitutes, Pulses & Pulses Products, Milk & Milk Products, Edible, Oil, Eggs, Fish and Meat, Vegetables, Fruits and Nuts, Sugar, Salt and Spices, Beverages, etc.

On looking to the monthly expenditure on food, education of children (both boys and girls), electricity and water, it is noticed that Sansi have the maximum expenditure amounting to Rs. 9469 per month. The highest expenditure among all the communities is on food, i.e. 76%, while on education it is only 14.7% (accounted for both boy and girls). This expenditure data varies greatly (by 20%) when compared between rural and urban. For more details see Annexure 7.6. The 3/4th expenditure on food itself shows that the communities have to struggle to earn their food. Rest of the necessities like housing and educations becomes secondary in such a poor situation.

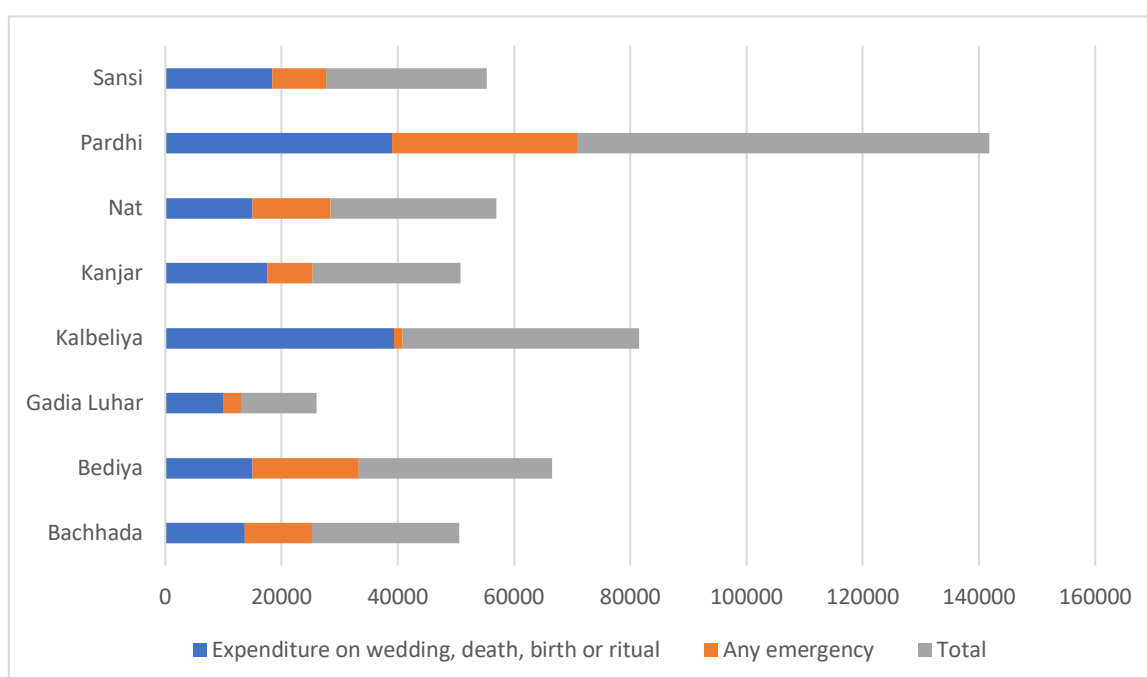
The annual expenditure on ceremonies like wedding, death, birth or rituals and on emergencies of different natures varies from community to community. It is higher among the Pardhi community due to the emergency expenditures and expenses on ceremonial functions. Among them under the emergency expenditure the expenses are high on police cases and caste Panchayats. In marriages bride price is paid amounting to lakhs of rupees. When these marriages get into disputes there is a huge expenditure on settling them through the Panchayat leaders. Similarly, money is spent on death rituals when a large feast is organized for a gathering of relatives and community members including their Panchayat members. Memorial built in memory of the deceased amounts to large expenditure. In marriages also dowry or bride price amounts to large expenditures.

In the survey, Kalbelia have the next highest expenditure. This is partly due to the age-old custom of organizing a community feast called *Mosar* in memory of a deceased soul. The first stage of expenditure happens during the 12 days immediately after the death of a person. But the largest expenditure takes place after a gap, when the family decides to give *Mosar* in memory of the deceased soul. *Mosar* is social responsibility of the family to maintain dignity of the family in which death has taken place. During the *Mosar*, the whole clan is invited from surrounding and far off villages for the feast which is a huge number. This amounts to lakhs of rupees in expenditure, many times leaving the family in debt. Money is borrowed from the local money lenders on high interest rates finally leading to indebtedness.

Table 7.vi - Annual household expenditure on ceremonies and emergencies (in figures):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Expenditure on wedding, death, birth or ritual	13644	15029	19973	39348	17478	15002	38993	18449
Any emergency	11647	18247	2919	1421	7926	13472	31876	9227
Total	25291	33276	22892	40769	25404	28474	70869	27676

Chart 7.e - Annual household expenditure (in figures):



Most of the households are economically weak. Thus, under the food security right their ration is taken care of by the Public Distribution System (PDS). Most of them have acknowledged receiving subsidized food grains, kerosene, salt and sugar. This has different rates and quantities depending upon the colour codes of the ration card. Around 1500 (i.e. 66%) households have acknowledged being beneficiaries of PDS. There are no cases where food is taken care of by the employer as wage expenses. In the survey 35% people have acknowledged that they are in debt. 15% people have outstanding loans.

7.e Household appliances and possessions

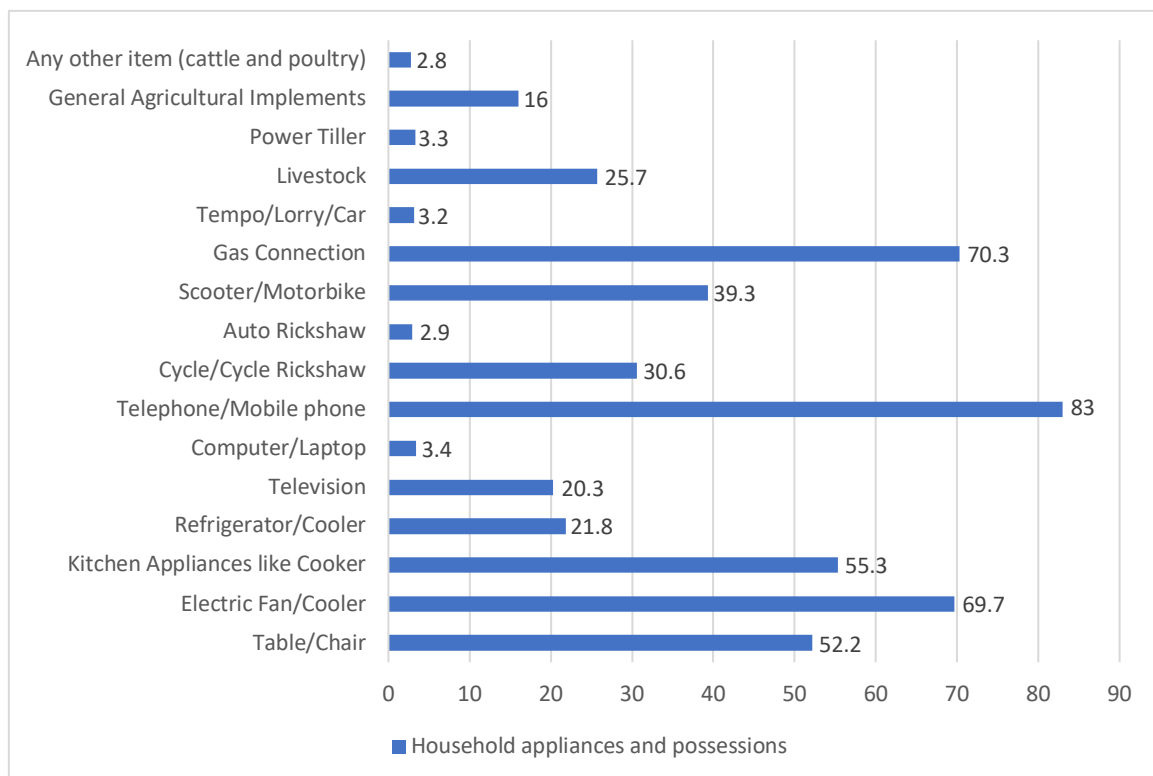
Chart 7.f shows that 83% population of DNT communities have Mobile Phones followed by Gas Connection (70.3%). 69.7% and 55.3% households have Electric Fan/Coolers and Kitchen Appliances like Cooker respectively. 52.2% have Table/Chair, 39.3% have Scooter/Motorbike, 30.6% have Cycle/Cycle Rickshaw, 25.7% have Livestock and 21.8% have Refrigerator/Cooler.

Only 3.4% households have Computer/Laptops, which directly corresponds to their poor literacy and financial status. Only 2.9% have Auto Rickshaw, 3.2% have Tempo/Lorry/Car and 3.3% have Power Tillers or Tractors. Their low percentage is indicative of poverty among these communities and corresponds to the fact that they do not have many options for other enterprising occupations. Thus they are left to do manual work. Mobiles phones are a favourite among the nomadic communities since they help them to connect with their

family members when they are on the move. Mobile phones and social media have revolutionized their life style in many ways. Another important appliance is Television with Dish Antennae connection which has exposed them to the outer world. Motorcycle is favourite among the youth helping them in their small businesses like collection of scrap, selling woollen quilts, going for labour work, etc. 25.7% households have livestock that shows need of cattle among the DNT communities. Percentage of agriculture implements is only 16%. Only 3.3% keeps Power Tillers/Tractors that show that agriculture is not a profitable practice among these communities. The same is also noticed by looking at the ratio of availability of agriculture land and farming as a practice (see Table 7.iii). 52.2% have a Table/Chair which corresponds to education of their children. 69.7% have an Electric Fan and a Kitchen appliance which is a basic need if the household has an electricity connection (i.e.81.4%, see Chart 7.f & Annexure 7.7). 20.3% have television sets which is a very low rate according to the present living standards.

When we consider the above data in rural-urban context for the individual communities it varies greatly. For example 71.2% households have table-chair in urban areas as compared to only 42.6% in rural areas. Among the Gadia Luhar this is only 7% which directly corresponds to their education level and their type of housing. For details of individual household appliances and possessions divided into rural-urban see Annexure 7.7.

Chart 7.f - Household appliances and possessions (data in %):

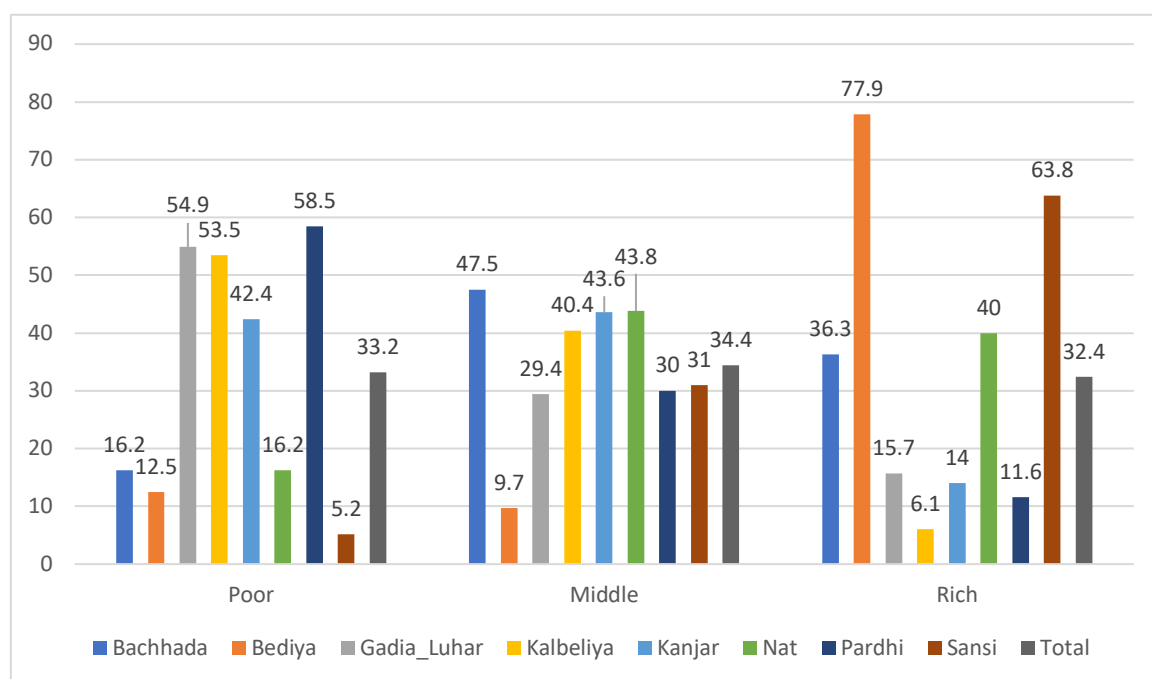


Note: For details see Annexure 7.7

7.f Wealth Index

The wealth index here has been calculated based on the house appliances listed in Chart 7.f. In the section of the 'Rich' it shows that the percentage of Bedia and Sansi community is high as compared to others. This corresponds to their better financial position over the other communities. In the 'Poor' section, percentage of Gadia Luhar, Kalbeliya and Pardhi is higher which shows that they are poorer as compared to the others. Bachhada, Kanjar and Nat community have a better position in the 'Middle' section which means that they are in between the poor and the rich. This data is relative and doesn't mean that the Bedia and Sansi communities are in a good financial position.

Chart 7.g - Wealth Index of the households calculated on the basis of Chi Square test:



Note: Calculated with the Chi-square test significant at 95% (m/f). The Ch-Square Test is a test that involves the use of parameters to test the statistical significance of the observations under study. See Annexure 7.8 and Annexure 7.9 for details.

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LAND OWNERSHIP, HOUSING & ASSETS

Some of the DNTs like the Kanjar, Sansi, Bedia, Bachhada and Pardhi have agriculture lands if they have been settled in villages for a long time. Among the NTs, Gadia Luhar have no possession of agriculture land whether living in rural areas or urban. They also do not have any land for housing. In recent time some of them have been settled under the housing schemes of the government. Similarly, the Kalbelia and Nat who are semi-nomadic tribes have land ownership for housing but very few among them have land for agriculture if settled in villages. These land holdings are small ranging from less than one bigha to three bighas on an average, not sufficient for the family to survive on it for a whole year. Thus, along with doing farming they migrate during the non-agriculture seasons for other works to earn their living. This is a common feature for the other DNT households also where they do other kind of works along with the agriculture.

8a. Agriculture land holdings among the DNT communities

The data below shows that only 29.3% (667 nos.) households have agriculture land while 70.7% (1607 nos.) have no possession of agriculture land (see Chart 8.a). This data accounts for the DNT households together living both in rural and urban areas. But this varies greatly according to the communities and also according to the rural and urban context (see Annexure 8.1)

On analyzing this data community wise we see that Bachhada has the maximum agriculture land holdings upto 59.0%, next to them are the Bedia and Kanjar communities with 50.2% and 49.8% land holdings. Gadia Luhar has no agriculture lands. It has been noticed that lands were granted to the DNT communities who fall under the SC reserved category during various rehabilitation programs. For example, the Pardhi in Madhya Pradesh were allotted agriculture lands during 1984 while the Bachhada were given lands up to 2001-02. Apart

from this these communities were also settled by the regional social leaders and local rulers before independence. Chart 8.b below illustrates different percentages of land holdings among the DNT communities under study.

Chart 8.a - Percentage of agriculture land holdings among the DNT communities:

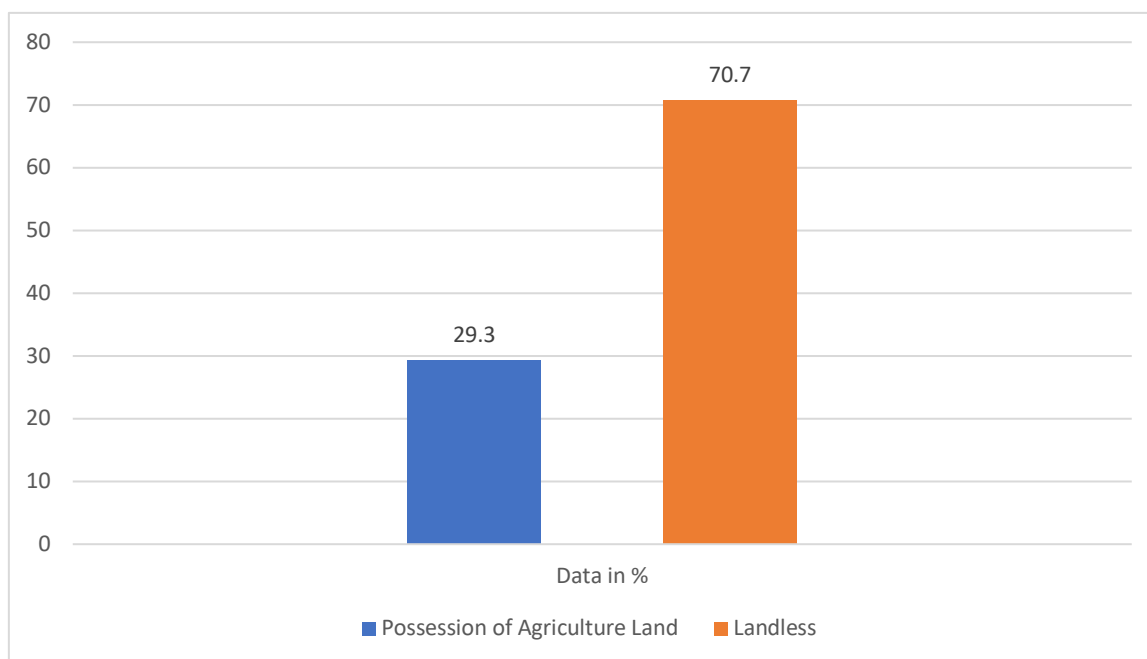
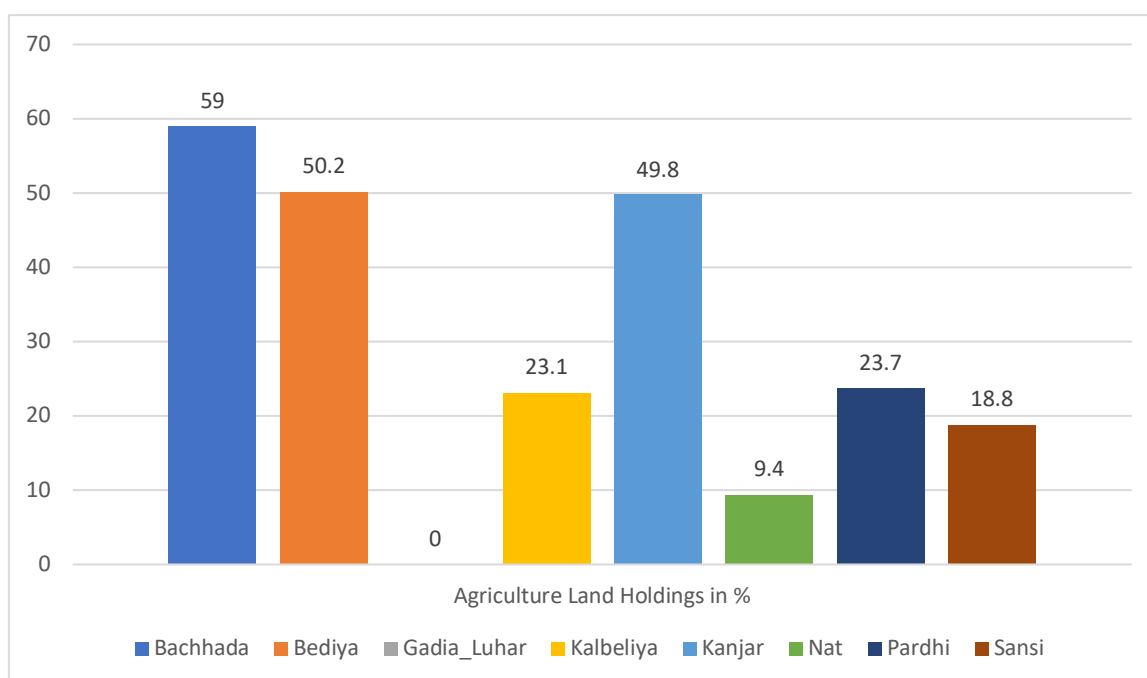


Chart 8.b - Distribution of agriculture land holdings among the DNT communities. Data shown in %:



Note: See rural-urban differential in Annexure 8.1.

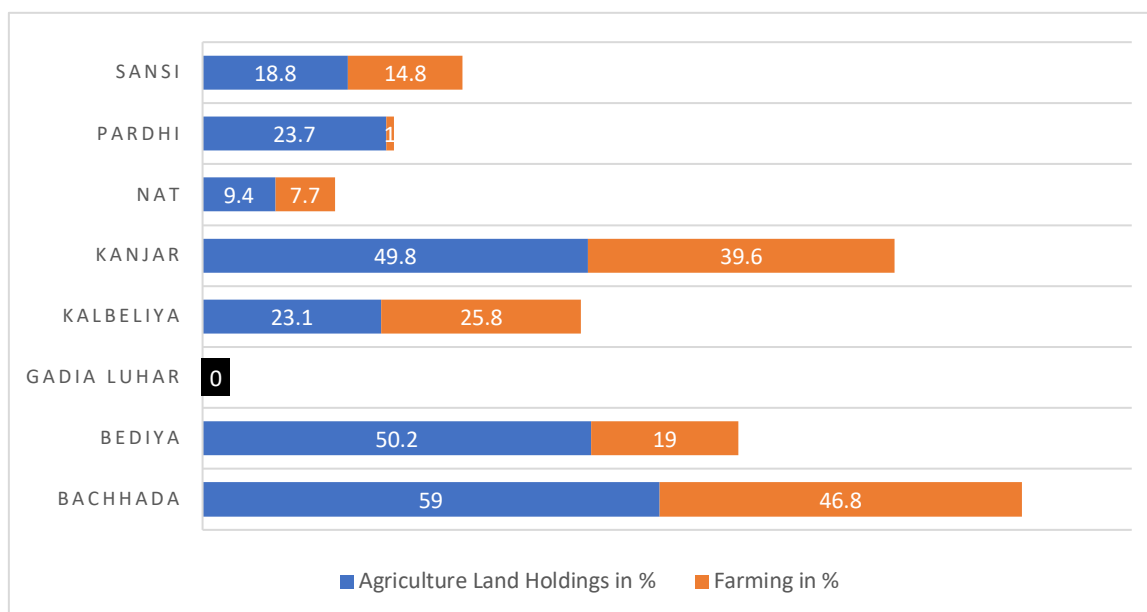
When we look at the percentage of agriculture lands available with the DNT communities against their practice of farming we notice a great difference between the two which do not directly relate to each other (see chart 8.c and Table 7.iii). Having an agriculture land does not correspond to farming as their main occupation or source of livelihood. It has come to light that many of the lands which were allotted to the DNT communities are barren pieces with rocky surface having no irrigation facilities. For example, in Madhya Pradesh the Pardhi community was shifted from the forests and settled on mountainous rocky lands. These lands were appropriate for the Pardhi from the aspect of hunting partridge and rabbits but not suitable for agriculture. Having no past experience of tilling the land for agriculture, these lands still lie barren in similar condition as they were allotted forty years ago. Thus, among the Pardhi we see that 23.7% of them have agriculture lands but only a portion (i.e. 1%) are doing farming (see chart 8.c).

Even after having the agriculture lands, the community continues to collect plastic, hunting and thefts for livelihood. In the rehabilitation plan the government never thought of providing them agriculture training and irrigation facilities to make use of the allotted piece of barren lands.

Among the Bachhada community also there is a great disparity - 59% Bachhada households have agriculture lands but only 46.8% are doing farming. The reason is similar that these pieces of waste lands were provided by the government under the rehabilitation schemes without any irrigation facilities. Bachhada being unskilled in farming, could not make these land pieces cultivable and profitable. Another reason noticed is that as the family grows the land is divided among the brothers, but only the eldest one takes up farming on it while rest get into other professions. These land pieces are small holdings as stated earlier thus insufficient to support the large family. In the survey, many households have acknowledged agriculture lands in their possession but in practice all are not doing farming on it. Thus there are less number of Bachhada households doing actual farming than the number of them having agriculture land holdings.

Among the Bedia 50.2% households have agriculture lands, while only 19% are doing farming. This huge difference of 30.8% is for the reason that though the community was provided agriculture land under the rehabilitation program for the SC communities, they couldn't make full use of the opportunity being unskilled in farming. Thus the community rent out their land to other communities in their neighbourhood and themselves continue to practice prostitution and other jobs. Another reason for not taking up farming by the Bachhada land holders is that they are not interested in doing hard labour work. Similar is also a case with the Bedia community in Morena and Dholpur district villages. The Chart 8.c illustrates this difference more clearly.

Chart 8.c - Farming practiced against the agriculture land holdings by the DNT communities. Data shown in percentage:



Apart from the Kalbelia community, most of the DNT communities have a higher percentage of agriculture lands as compared to their actual practice of farming. Kalbelia are an exception because they do farming on a sharing cropping basis on other's land. Many among the Kalbelia also work as farm labour on other's land to earn their livelihood. For example, the Kalbelia of Dalelpura-Bundi travel as far as Barmer (more than 500 Km west) and Jodhpur during the harvest of cumin and mustard crops.

8b. Size of the agriculture land holdings

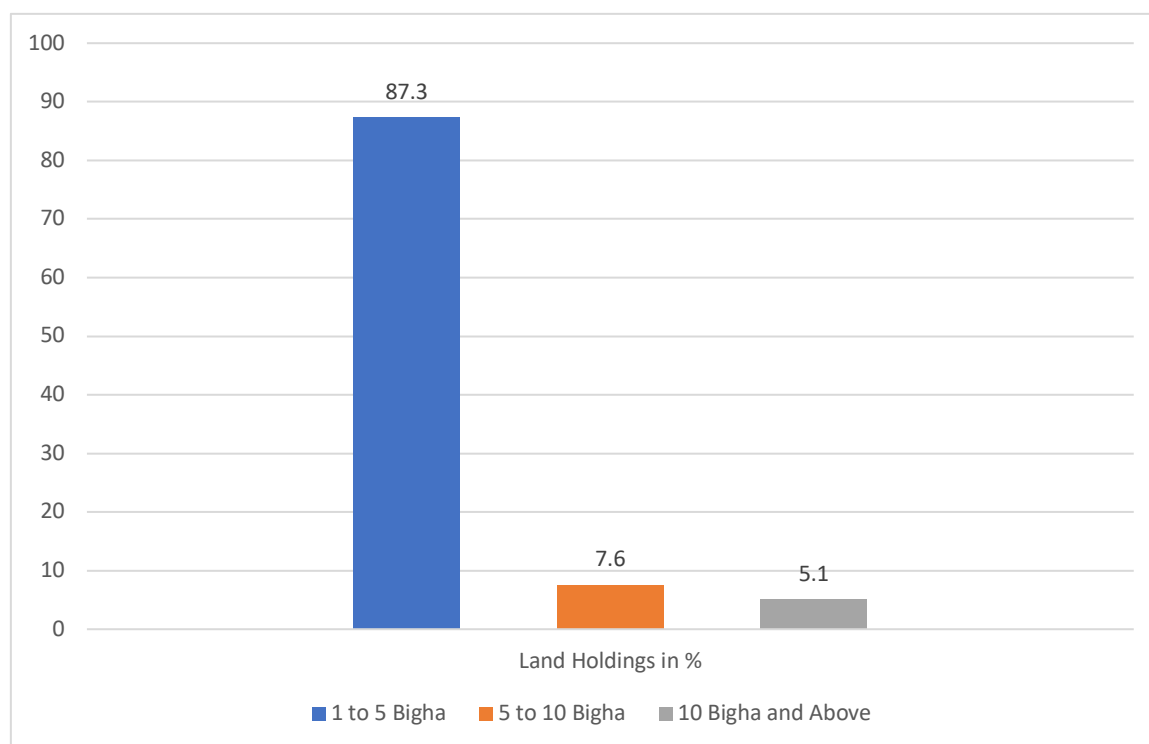
The agriculture land holdings among the 667 households mostly range between 1 to 5 bighas²³⁶ (i.e. 87.3%). While 7.6% households have land holdings between 5 to 10 bigha and 5.1% households have more than 10 bigha. As the population is increasing and there are property divisions among the next generation the size of these agriculture lands is decreasing. According to the Agriculture Census 2015-16²³⁷ the average size of operational holding has declined to 1.08 ha. (4 bigha) in 2015-16 as compared to 1.15 ha. in 2010-11. Among the DNT communities under survey 75% of the households have land holdings under 1.08 ha. According to the Agriculture Survey 2015-16, small and marginal holdings taken together (0.00-2.00 ha.) constituted 86.08% of the total holdings in 2015-16. The DNT communities also fall in this category. Only the difference here is that these land holdings are mostly waste land with no irrigation facility. Thus, they remain non-operational bringing

²³⁶ 1 hectare is equal to 3.95 bigha of land.

²³⁷ See Agriculture Census 2015-16 - http://agcensus.nic.in/document/agcen1516/T1_ac_2015_16.pdf

no earning to the households (see Table 7.iii). Most of the households in rural areas who have agriculture lands live on them itself.

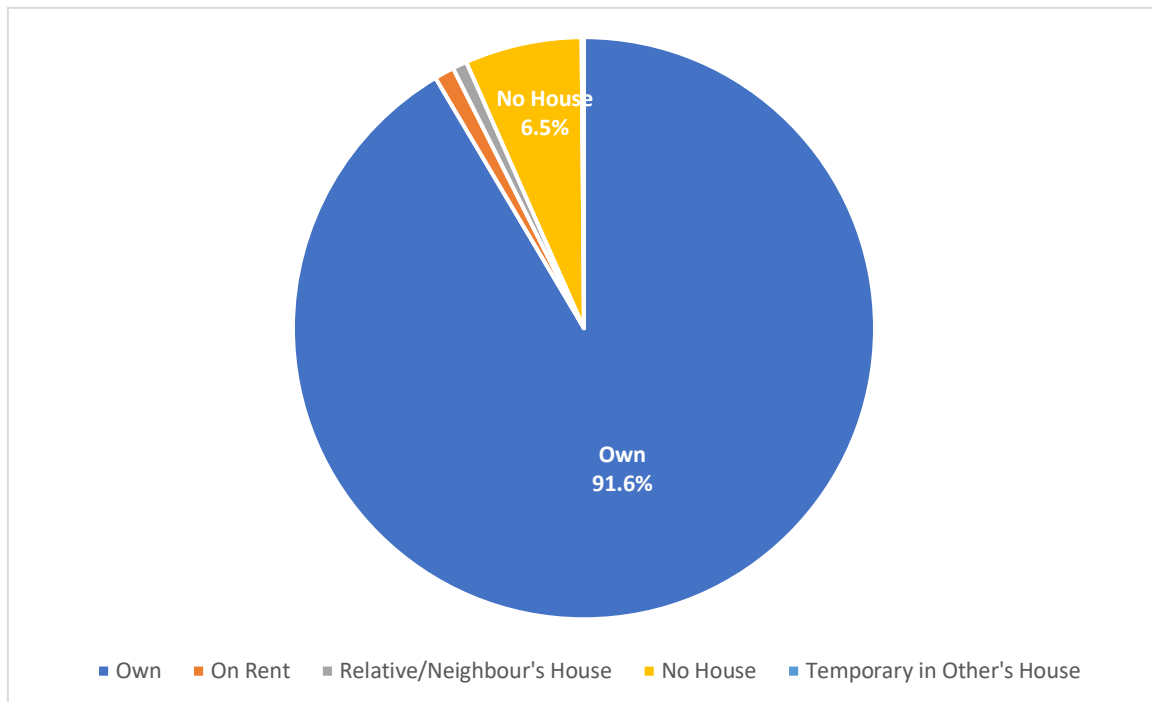
Chart 8.d - Agriculture land sizes among the DNT households:



8c. Housing

Regarding ownership of housing, it has been noticed that 91.6% live in their own houses. But this does not correspond to livable concrete houses with basic amenities. Many among the Kalbelia, Pardhi, Gadia Luhar and Nat community continue to live in tent accommodation or thatched huts. The land on which they put up their tents does not belong to them. Particularly in case of the Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar and Nat, the hutments are either on the village wasteland or forest/government land (see Picture 39). In cities they put up their tents or huts along the roads, or on empty plots belonging to others, along the railway lines or on government lands. 6.5% households have no houses of their own to live in. This percentage is highest among the Kalbelia (27.3%) followed by the Gadia Luhar (10.8%). For community wise details see Annexure 8.2. The chart on the following page illustrates findings of the survey.

Chart 8.e - Status of ownership of the DNT houses:



Note: For details see Annexure 8.2.

For economically weaker sections like the DNT communities there exists Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana-Urban (PMAYU) launched on 25th June 2015 which intends to provide housing for all in urban areas by the year 2022. The Mission provides Central Assistance to the implementing agencies through States/Union Territories (UTs) and Central Nodal Agencies (CNAs) for providing houses to all eligible families/ beneficiaries against the validated demand for houses.²³⁸ This mission for urban areas is under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. Under the scheme the Economically Weaker Section gets INR 3,70,000 to build a house. But the land entitlement documents are a prerequisite. The problem is that many among the DNT households do not have land ownership documents for being living on the encroached lands or slums.

Similarly, for the rural areas there exists Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana-Gramin (PMAYG) under the Ministry of Rural Development. This was implemented from 1st April 2016 to provide basic amenities (housing) to homeless families living in rural areas.²³⁹ On verification and recommendation of the Sarpanch and Panchayat Secretary the beneficiary gets INR 1.2 lakh plus 90 persons days of unskilled labour from MGNREGS (amounting to INR 17-18 thousand). One of the basic documents required to avail the benefit is the land

²³⁸ See <https://pmaymis.gov.in>

²³⁹ See <http://www.iaay.nic.in/netiay/about.aspx>

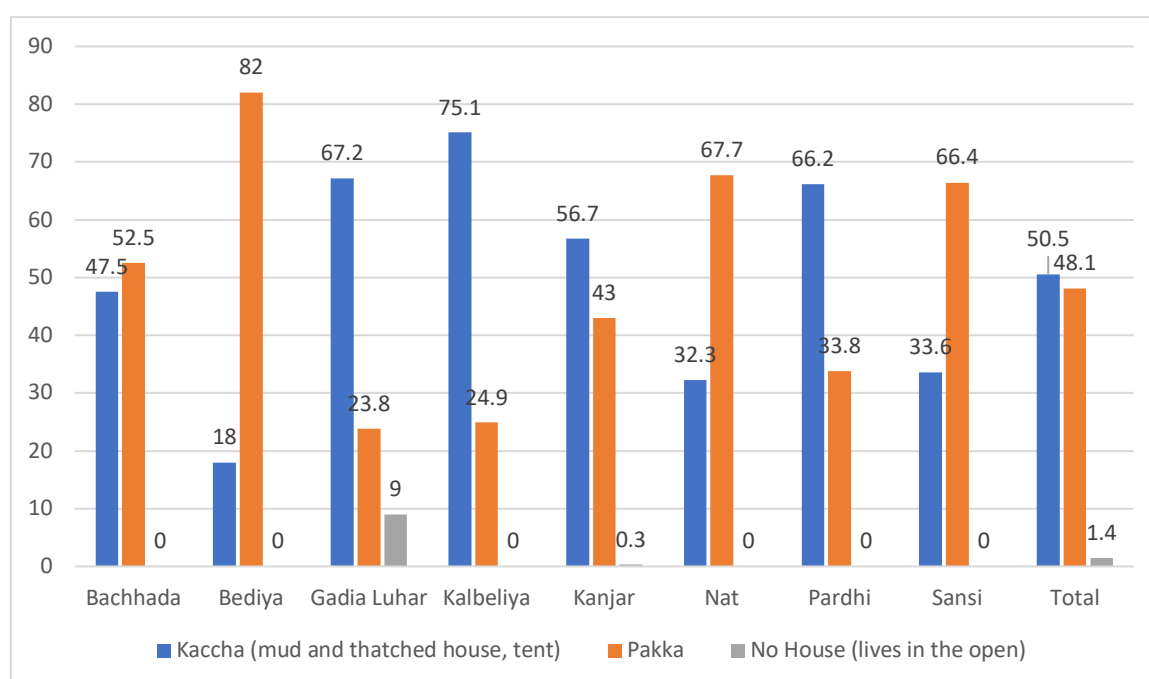
entitlement document which is not available with the nomadic communities. Thus, they continue to live in tents or thatched houses on the forest or village waste land.

Both the above schemes are helpful only to families having IDs and entitlements documents²⁴⁰ along with the land ownership papers. Thus, for many families the benefits of the schemes remain out of reach. Illiteracy and lack of awareness among the DNT communities is another reason for not being able to avail them.

8c.1 Type of the houses

The survey data shows that more than half (50.5%) of the DNT households live in *kaccha* houses while 48.1% have concrete *pakka* houses. 1.4% households are without any house and compelled to live under the sky. Maximum number of households living in the *kaccha* houses are among the Kalbelia (75.1%), Gadia Luhar (67.2%) and Pardhi (66.2%) communities followed by the Kanjar (56.7%) and Bachhada (47.5%) respectively. Those having no house are among the Gadia Luhar community (9%). The 6.5% households of the total survey with no ownership of their own (see Chart 8.e) are among the *kaccha* house dwellers and among those with no houses (total 51.9%, see Chart 8.f).

Chart 8.f - Types of houses among the DNT communities under study (rural + urban, data in %):



Note: See Annexure 8.3 & Annexure 8.4 for details.

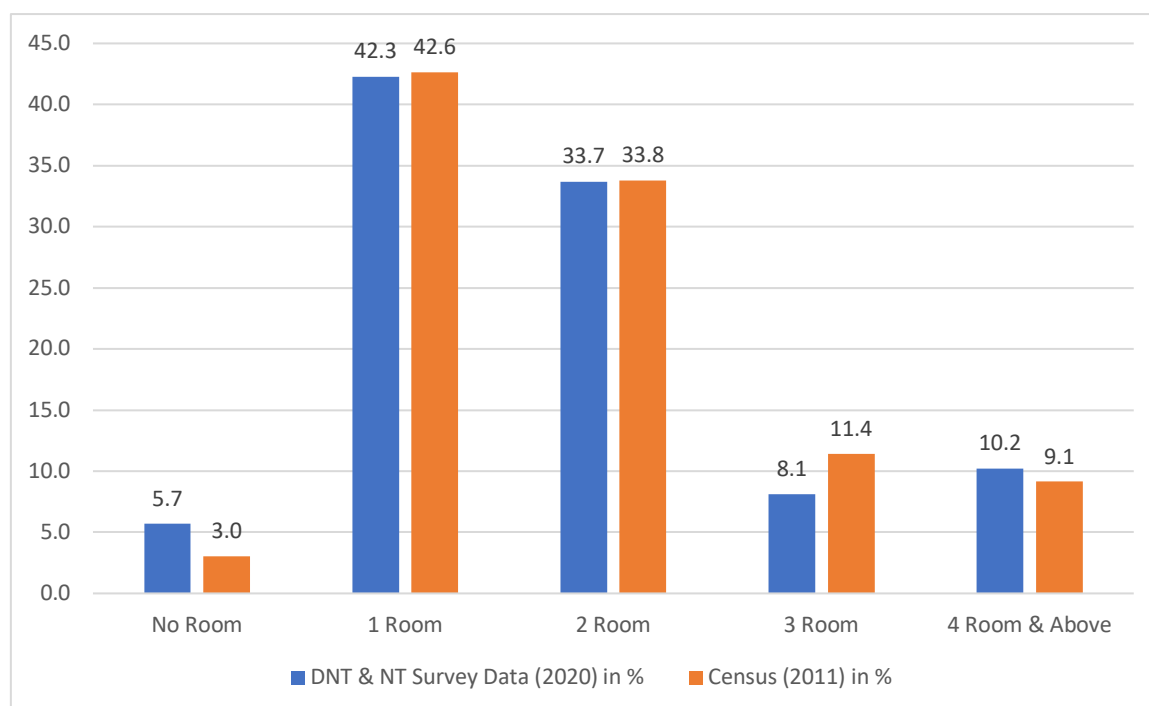
²⁴⁰ See Annexure No. 3.1 to 3.9 (entitlement and citizenship documents).

The presence of 50.5% *kaccha* houses and 1.4% having no house presents a true picture of the government residential schemes meant for the Economically Weaker Section (EWS). Many of these houses are in a non-livable dilapidated condition. Many houses are working places during the day and places to sleep and rest at night. The United Nation's SDG Target No. 11.1 aims to 'ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums' by the year 2030.²⁴¹ This target seems to be a challenging one for India in such a situation where 10% of India's population is among the DNT communities living in neglect with limited basic amenities.

8c.2 Total number of rooms in the house

It is a matter of concern to estimate the living standards/status of the household by taking note of the number of rooms in the house. This also determines the study space for a child living in the house. The survey shows that 5.7% households live in tents or in the open and do not have a single room. Maximum households (42.3%) have one room houses which may be *kaccha* or *pakka*. 33.7% households have 2 room houses, 8.1% have 3 rooms, 10.2% have 4 rooms or more. See Chart 8.g below.

Chart 8.g - Comparative data of housing of the DNTs survey (2020) and Census of India-2011 (data in %):



²⁴¹ See <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

The above survey data is average data for all the eight communities living in rural and urban areas in the three states. On comparing this with the average data (of Rajasthan, Gujarat & MP) of the National Census of the year 2011²⁴² we see that it is almost the same. But this data is 10 years old. From this one can see that the standards of living of the that DNT communities is not improving and they are far behind the national average.

The size of the rooms generally ranges from 6x8 feet to 10x12 feet. And the plot or land size also ranges from 48 sq. feet to 200 sq. feet depending on the number of rooms. Most of these houses are without separate kitchen area, water connections and latrines. The entry lanes to their houses are narrow with choked drains. In urban areas the DNT communities are compelled to live in unhygienic slums while in villages they live on waste or forest lands in the open on the periphery of the village with no basic amenities.

8d. Source of drinking water

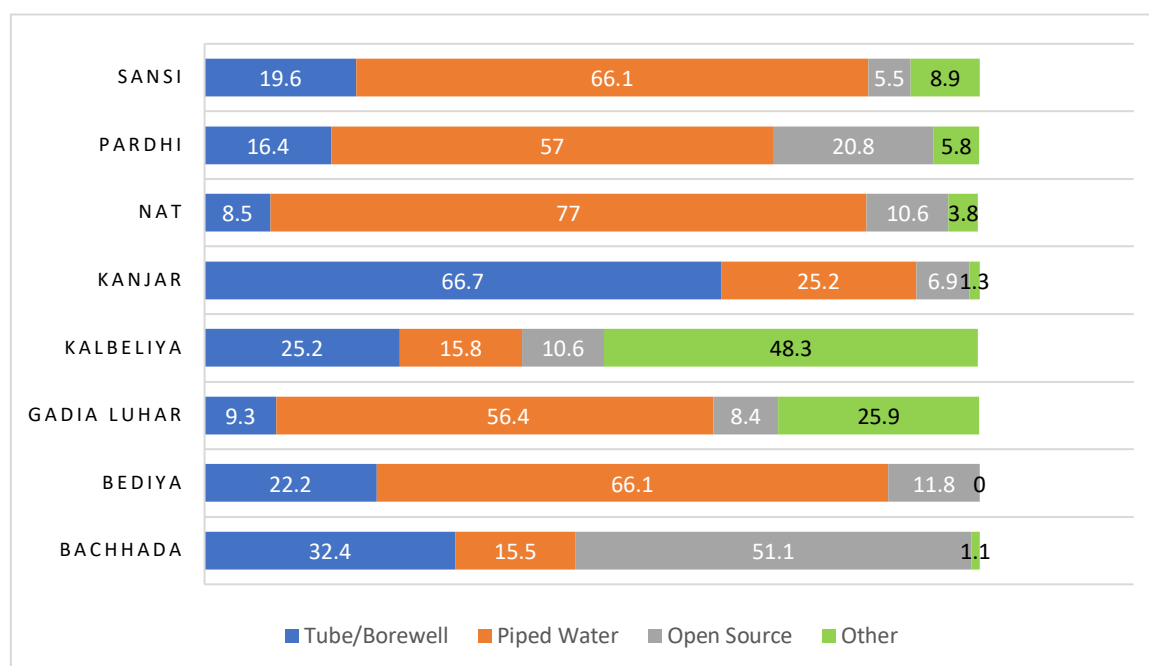
The average data shows that 26% population of the DNT households get their drinking water supply from Tube wells or Borewells. Less than half of the population (45.7%) has a piped water connection but this doesn't mean that these are direct to home pipeline connections. Many draw their water from public taps or that of the neighbourhood. 15.2% households fetch water from open sources like springs, ponds, canals, rivers, etc. 13.2% get their supply through mobile water tanks, public tanks, premises of govt. schools, Aganwadi or Panchayat Bhavan, etc. The majority have to travel a distance of 100 meters to 1 kilometre to fetch water, but there are cases when some of the families have to still go as far as 2 to 5 kilometre to fetch drinking water. It is mostly the women and children of the household who take it as their duty to fetch water (see Picture 42).

Since the drinking water is sourced from unsafe places the DNT families encounter seasonal diseases like diarrhoea during the monsoon and summer months. These open sources mostly yield unfiltered water with high mineral content therefore cases of fluoride poisoning are common. Regarding the water supply in the village it has a strong caste factor attached with them. The open wells, tube wells, public tanks and handpumps are meant for everyone but the DNTs are treated differently, particularly in villages. Many a time they are not allowed to collect water from the public sources and cases of quarrels and dispute have been reported, particularly in villages.

²⁴² Data collated from Appendix-70 (State-wise Total percentage Households living in houses by number of Rooms of own Dwelling in India-2011) of the STATE OF HOUSING IN INDIA A STATISTICAL COMPENDIUM 2013 published by National Buildings Organization, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation

Apart from this, the households also spend large sums of money on procuring water. Table 7.v illustrates the monthly expenditure on water by the different communities which stands to Rs. 50 to 350 per month. The bill is high when the households have to depend on private water tanks. In the remote locations it becomes a challenge to manage it. The Chart 8.h illustrates different sources of drinking water accessed by the DNT communities.

Chart 8.h - Source of drinking water (rural + urban, data in %):



Note: To see urban-rural differentials in drinking water accessibility among DNT communities see Annexure 8.5 & 8.6.

According to UNICEF less than 50% of the Indian population have access to safely managed drinking water. Chemical contamination of water, mainly through fluoride and arsenic, is present in 1.96 million dwellings.²⁴³ This situation is worst for the nomadic communities who fetch water from far distances. Even among the DNTs who live on the periphery of villages it is tough for them to get easy access to water. In a villages, the caste discrimination makes life tough for the DNT communities. They are treated as untouchables. In the case of cities, only those have access to piped safe drinking water who have registered land ownership and citizenship documents. Many families are not able to pay water connection bills thus they are disconnected after sometime. The hot summer months in western India makes life worst, particularly in Rajasthan and Gujarat. People have to pay a heavy price to get drinking water. Water, which is a basic survival need for life, is still not within easy reach of the DNT communities.

²⁴³ See <https://www.unicef.org/india/what-we-do/clean-drinking-water>

It is mostly the women and children who have to manage collection of water. This affects their attendance in schools as they spend hours in collecting every drop of water. According to UNICEF, '22 per cent increase in school drop-out rates has been reported in drought-affected states. Close to 54 per cent of rural women – as well as some adolescent girls - spend an estimated 35 minutes getting water every day, equivalent to the loss of 27 days' wages over a year'.²⁴⁴

UN has accepted the fact that 2.2 billion people in the world lack safe drinking water. Under its Target 6.1 of SDG-6 it aims to achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all.²⁴⁵ To achieve these targets, in May 2019 Government of India has formed Ministry of Jal Shakti by merging of two ministries; Ministry of Water Resources, River Development & Ganga Rejuvenation and Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation. Under its Jal Jeevan Mission, the Ministry of Jal Shakti is aiming to provide safe and adequate drinking water through individual household tap connections by 2024 to all households in rural India.²⁴⁶ Similarly for cities the Union Budget 2021-22 has announced Jal Jeevan Mission (Urban) to bring safe water to the estimated 2.86 crore households through tap connection. The target year is 2024.

But the above task seems to be impossible for the people who do not have land ownership or any housing facilities. In the mission of the government there is no consideration for water supply to such communities. Under JJM there is provision for 'Paani Samiti/ Village Water & Sanitation Committee (VWSC)/ User group' at the village level. But such groups consists of dominant caste people, leaving the DNTs out of it. Therefore a more inclusive approach is required to uniformly cover all sections of the society.

8e. Availability of toilets in the house

According to UNICEF, India had the highest number of people in the world - about 620 million - who defecated in the open, with the vast majority living in rural areas.²⁴⁷ UNICEF further says that - Open defecation is a major public health hazard, especially for children who risk catching potentially deadly diseases like diarrhoea. According to UNICEF, faecal contamination and poor sanitation is a leading cause of child mortality, disease, under nutrition and stunting. Open defecation also exposes women and girls to the danger of physical attacks and rape, and they often have to wait until dark to relieve themselves.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ See Analysis of the situation of children, adolescents and Women in India 2016, UNICEF. See <https://www.unicef.org/india/what-we-do/clean-drinking-water>

²⁴⁵ See <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6>

²⁴⁶ See <https://jaljeevanmission.gov.in>

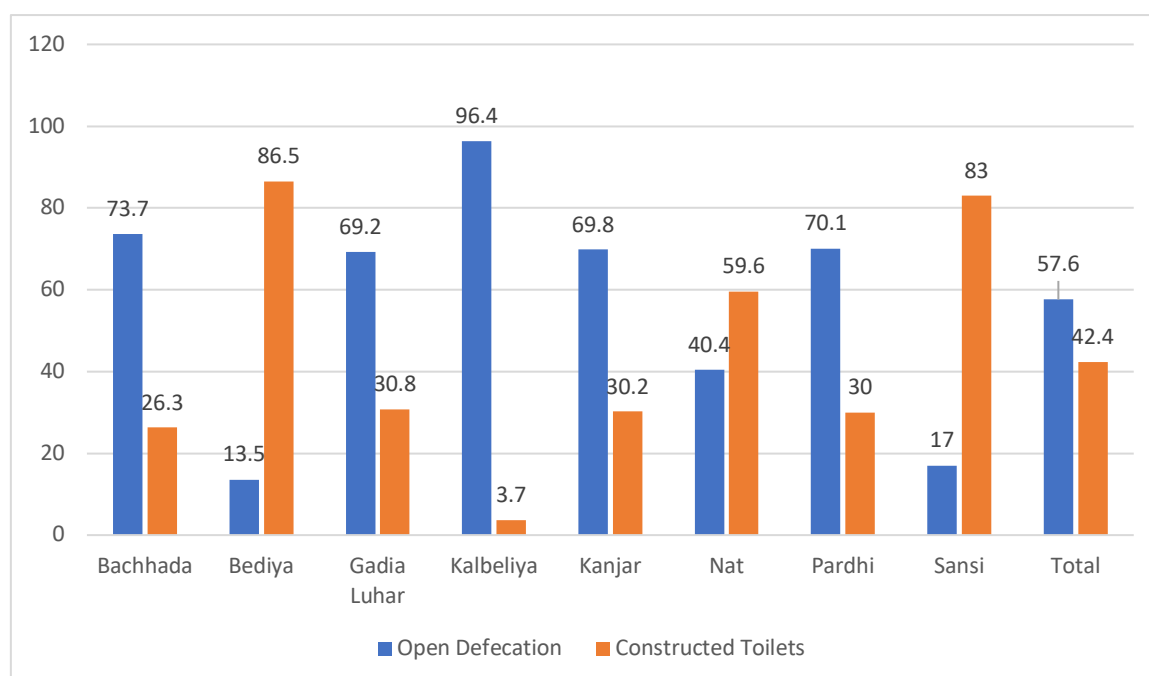
²⁴⁷ Report published on April 21, 2014. See <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/20/world/asia/unicef-latest-anti-public-defecation-campaign-in-india/index.html>

²⁴⁸ See <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/10/05/asia/india-modi-open-defecation-free-intl-hnk-scli/index.html>

The survey data shows that 57.6% DNT households still go for open defecation. Only 42.4% has facility of constructed toilets. But that doesn't mean that they have proper water connections and are hygienic. Most lie unused due to lack of water connection. Within this data the situation of the Kalbelia community needs attention among whom 96.4% families go for open defecation and only 3.7% among them have the facility of constructed toilets. This data has direct relationship with the availability of *pakka* houses (24.9% among the Kalbelia). Even though many have *pakka* houses with toilets built in them through the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan and PMAYU & PMAYG, their use depends on the availability of water and people's willingness to use them. Water is scarce in their remote locations thus many of these toilets lie unused and converted into stores.

Among the Bachhada, Gadia Luhar, Kanjar and Pardhi also more than 70% households go for open defecation. This situation is present even after the launch of Swachh Bharat Mission on 2nd Oct. 2014 which aimed to make villages and cities Open Defecation Free (ODF) by the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi (i.e. 2nd October 2019). A huge amount of money was spent on the program, but its benefits haven't reached the DNT communities particularly in rural areas.

Chart 8.i - Situation of the toilets (data in %):

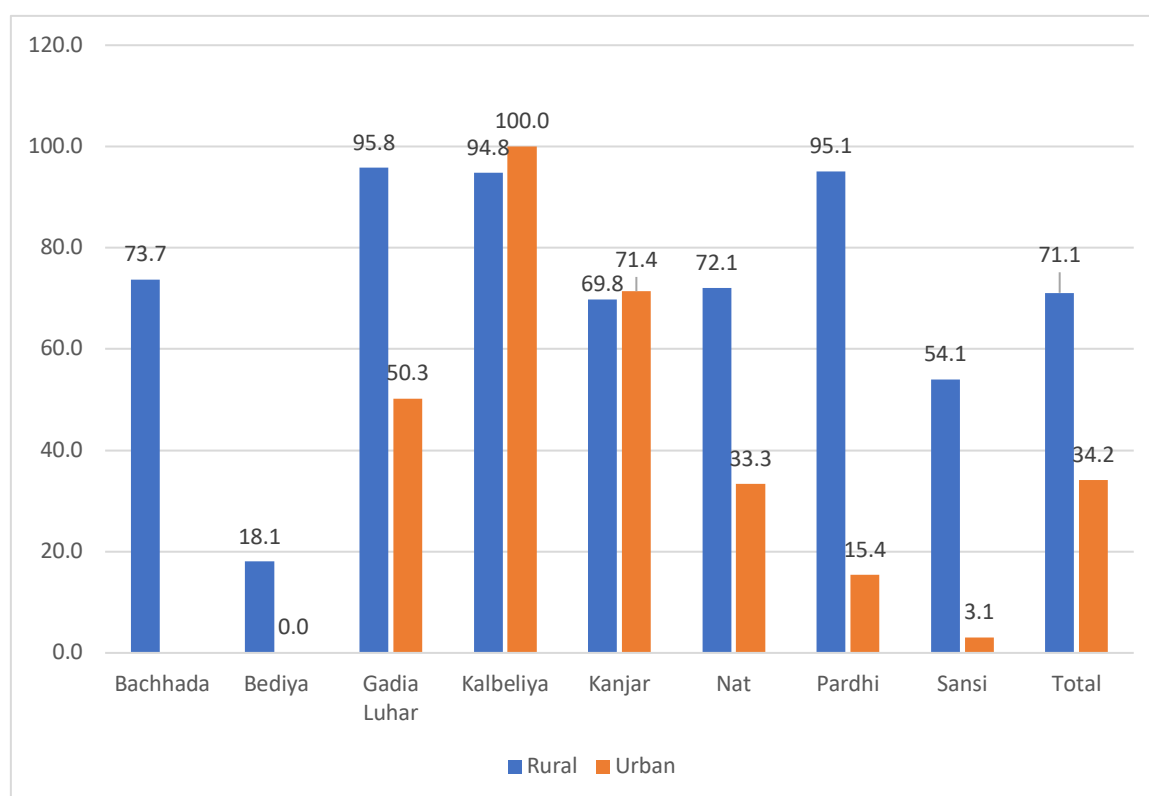


Note: For details Annexure 8.7

Many among the DNT community living in slums in urban areas use public toilets constructed by the government and Sulabh International. But still there is a large population which goes for open defecation in small towns like Bundi, Neemuch and Sagar. On further

analysing the above data for open defecation by segregating it on the basis of rural and urban we see that 71.1% of the DNT households defecate in the open in rural areas while 34.2% defecate in the open in the cities. Thus, this percentage is double in rural areas as compared to the urban.

Chart 8.j - Situation of open defecation in rural and urban (data in %):



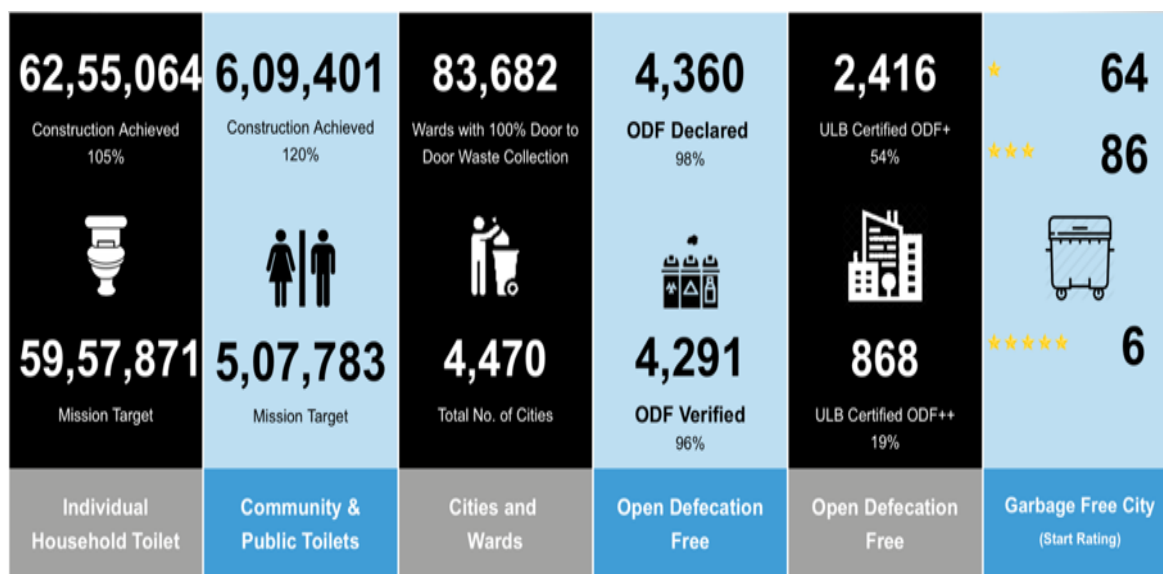
Note: For details see Annexure 8.8

SDG Target No. 6.2 aims to 'achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations'.²⁴⁹ This target is set to be achieved by the year 2030. But it will only get realized when the DNT population is also included in the government program. The criteria for housing facility for such communities need to be changed and then accordingly provision of toilets has to be made.

A screenshot of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Urban) website shows that government has achieved commendable success over the target set by them to make cities open defecation free. But on the ground the situation is different, as reflected in the survey.

²⁴⁹ See <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal6>

Chart 8.k - Current success data of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Urban).



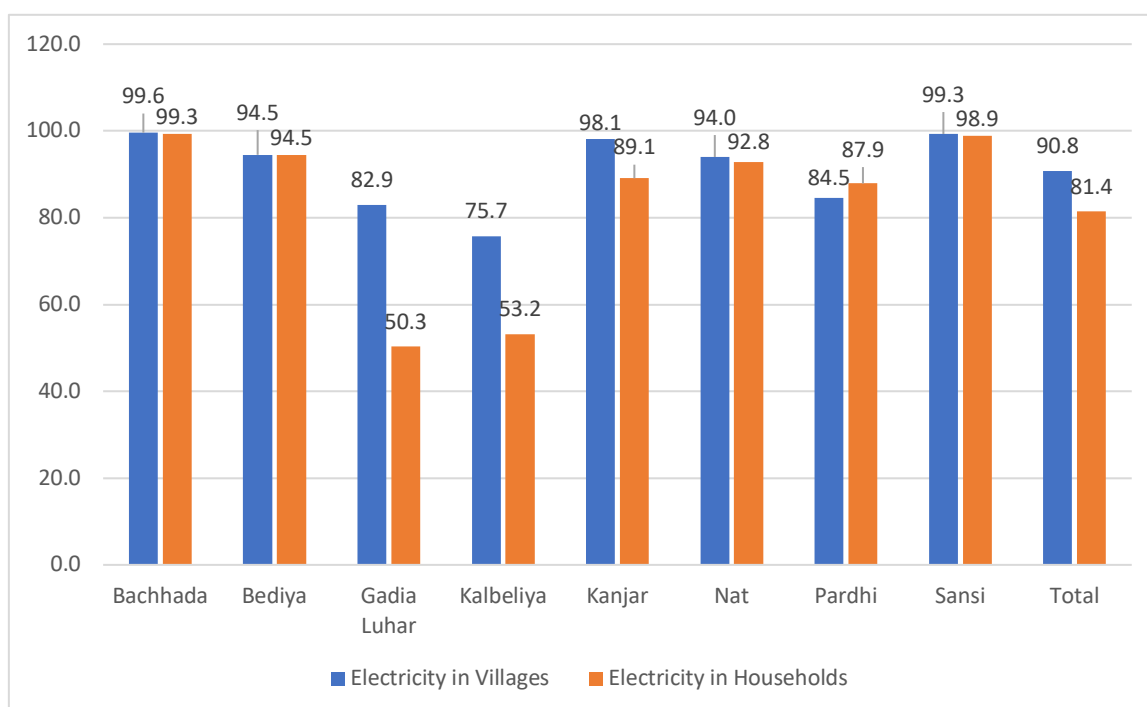
Source: <http://swachhbharaturban.gov.in>

8f. Availability of electricity in the village and access by the DNT households

According to the survey data the difference between the availability of electricity in the village and its access by the DNT households is not much among the Bachhada, Bedia, Nat, Pardhi and Sansi community. Most of the households have electricity connections if electricity is available in the village or locality. But there is a remarkable difference in case of the Gadia Luhar (82.9% - 50.3%) and Kalbelia (75.5% - 53.2%). The reason is that since they are not permanent residents of the place thus, they are not eligible to get the electricity connections. Lack of land ownership documents is the reason for not getting this basic facility. Among the Kanjar also there is a slight difference (98.1% - 89.1%) which is due to the reason that many Kanjar households are not able to pay electricity bills, due to which after a few months it accumulate to a large sum and penalty. Such connections are then blacklisted and disconnected by the electricity department.

The data among the Pardhi community shows a very different situation. There are a greater number of households (87.9%) having electricity connections as compared to its availability in the villages/locality (84.5%). The reason for this is that some of the Pardhi have taken illegal connections through long distance wires in remote locations. Thus, the number of connections outnumber the electricity facility in their settlement camps. Cases of illegal connections are among the DNTs living in the villages.

Chart 8.1 - Electricity in the village and its access to the DNTs (rural + urban, data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 8.9

Looking to the situation of above basic amenities available to the DNT communities one may understand that DNTs lag behind as compared to the other mainstream communities when it comes to exercising their basic rights. Since their population and presence is not enumerated, they do not feature in the government policies. They are left out while designing the development policy for the economically weaker sections.

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NEIGHBOURHOOD

The survey data shows that most of the DNT communities like to live in a neighbourhood of their own community/caste members. Mostly these are clan members if it is a case of rural areas. They feel safer this way in case of any rivalry or feud erupting with the villagers in the vicinity, their strength is necessary. Communities involved in making illicit liquor, and those involved in prostitution particularly want privacy from the outsiders. For example, the Kanjars of Aedapur²⁵⁰ involved in making illicit liquor and prostitution settled separately (Dhani Ramgarh, see Picture 40) at a distance of 2 km from the main village majorly inhabited by the Meena community. Similarly, the Ramnagar village and Shankarpura Kanjar colony are two big villages of the Kanjar community which were settled separately under the rehabilitation effort during the princely period. Some of the households of the Bachhada were settled by the landlords by allotting land to them (see Picture 38). The Pardhi in many parts of Madhya Pradesh were settled by the Navabs and Holkars to assist them in hunting expeditions. Same is the case with the Sansi, Bedia, Bachhada and Nat communities to get their services. The Kalbelia who live in segregated houses, generally separate from the main habitation of other communities. As compared to the Kalbelia, Gadia Luhar are more acceptable to the village communities thus they can set up their temporary settlements near the villages of other communities. But in recent times some of the Gadia Luhar have started trading in cattle. In that case they have to pitch their tents on the waste land outside the village. Kalbelia and Gadia Luhar do not mingle among each other and they each live separately.

The socio-cultural and professional practices of the DNT communities are very different; thus, they prefer to live separately from any other community (even within the DNT communities). Pander village near Bhilwara (Rajasthan) is the only case where one can see

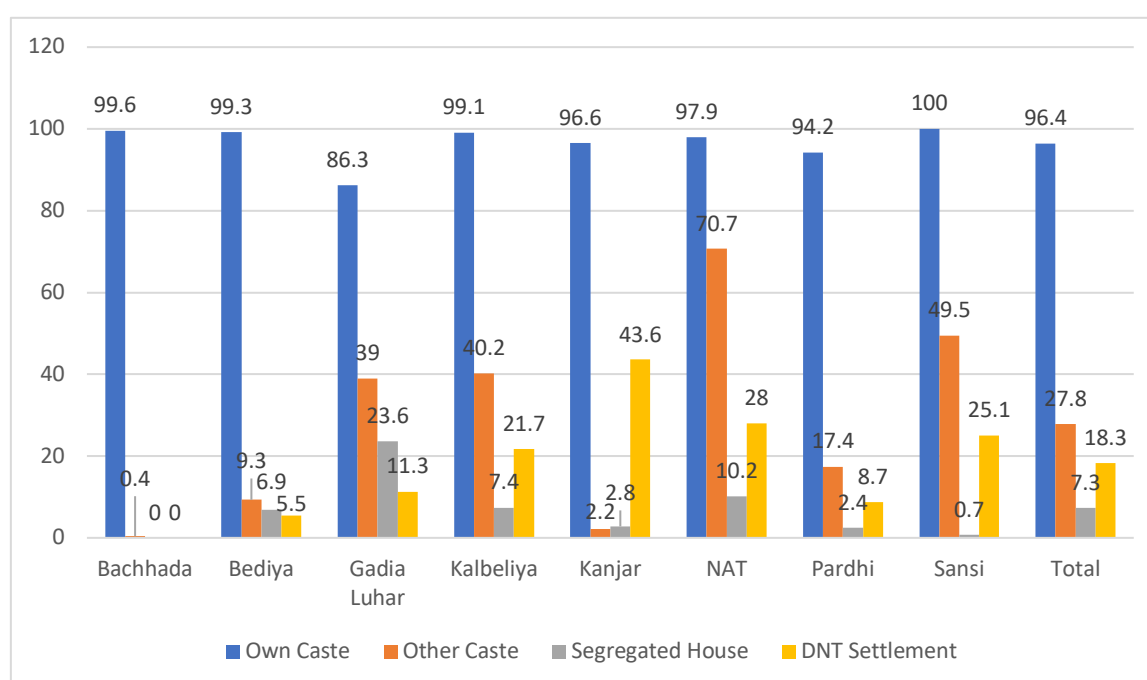
²⁵⁰ In Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan near Bhagwatgarh town.

Sansi and Kanjar communities living in adjacent localities, their houses alongside each other. This is because they were rehabilitated together by the government by allotting them a single large piece of land in Pander.

This situation is different in cities since there is scarcity of land, many of the DNT communities have been settled together by the government or they are found living together in slums. But the situation of such settlements is not good marked by filthy roads, overflowing drains and unhygienic conditions (see Picture 43).

In Panipech area of Jaipur many such communities have been put together under the rehabilitation housing scheme of the government. Communities like Nat, Bhat, Naik Bhopa, Behrupira, Baori, etc. all coexist. Similarly in Kota also under the Bombay Yojna (housing scheme), the Gadia Luhar, Nat and Kalbelia communities have been allotted plots of land to settle down in separate clusters but within the same colony.

Chart 9.a - Percentage of households living in neighbourhood.



Note: For details see Annexure 8.10 & Annexure 8.11

The Survey data shows that on an average 96.4% DNT households are living with their own caste. 27.8% are living in a neighbourhood of other castes, 7.3% are living in segregated houses. 18.3% are complete DNT settlements. This data has overlapped because living in DNT settlement with the own caste group is a common feature. Similarly, one could be living with another caste within the DNT settlement also. Thus, the data should be looked at in this perspective also.

On further segregating this data into rural-urban (on the basis of Annexure 8.11) we see that the percentage of other caste houses is higher in urban areas (57.9%) as compared to that in the rural areas (10.29%). Similarly, the percentage of segregated houses is higher in urban areas (12.11%) as compared to the rural areas (4.4%). Among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia & Nat this percentage is very high in urban areas (50.75%, 81.82 & 80.21 respectively) as compared to rural areas (6.29, 10.48 & 12.12 respectively). But the percentage of DNT settlements is higher in rural areas (22.13%) as compared to urban (11.87%). This percentage is high among the Sansi community (58.11%) in rural area as compared to the urban area (12.69%).

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HEALTH FACILITIES

Health is one of the major concerns among the DNT communities. Cases of malnutrition, infectious diseases like tuberculosis, silicosis due to working in mines, high number of anemic cases among the women, skin diseases among those living in unhygienic conditions in slums or alongside the roads in open, are common. Seasonal diseases like viral fever, diarrhea and typhoid reoccur every year. Cases of AIDS are also present among the Bachhada, Bedia and Kanjar communities. National AIDS Control Organization (NACO) and other health agencies are working in some of their clusters. Since these communities are treated differently by the government hospitals, thus they prefer to visit the local private doctors and hospitals. Due to high expenses many a time they have to borrow money from the moneylenders on high interest rates leading to indebtedness. In the survey, various factors related to health facilities in the context of the DNT communities have been studied. Below are the findings related to them.

10a. Access to services of the Anganwadi

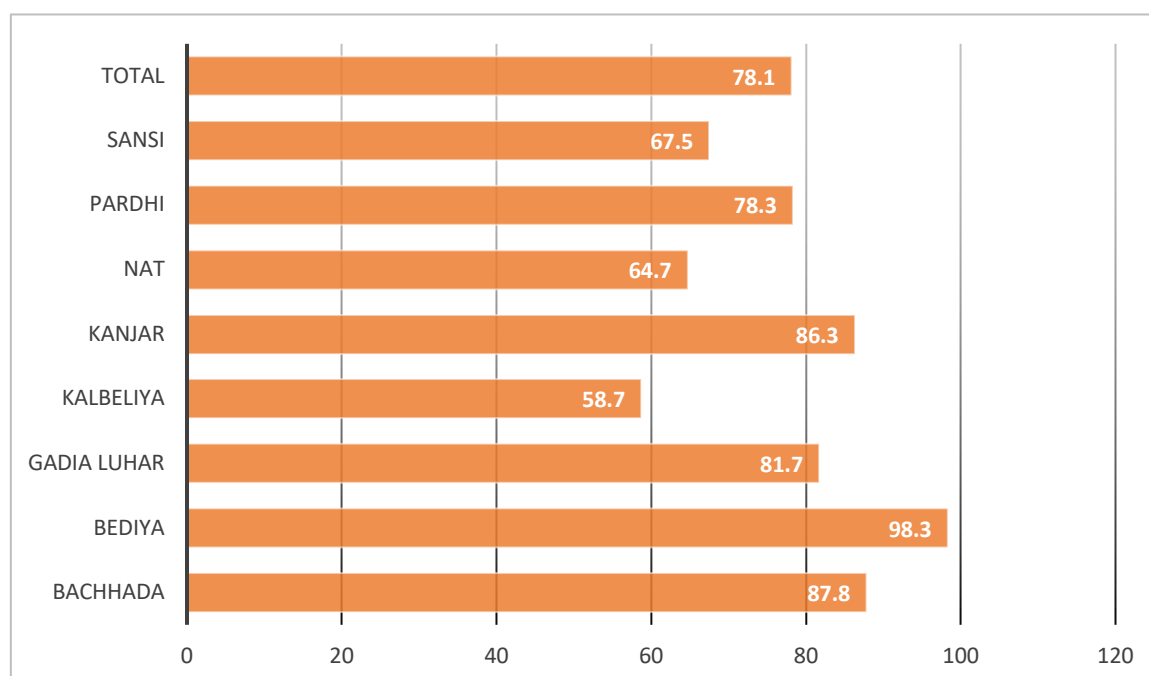
Anganwadi which means "courtyard shelter" in Hindi are rural childcare centers which are an important part of the Indian public health care system. Anganwadi Centres were launched under the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) on 2nd Oct. 1975 under the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD). At present day care centres provide a package of six services - supplementary nutrition, non-formal pre-school education, nutrition and health education, immunization, health check-up and referral services. The objective for setting up of Anganwadi centres was to reduce infant mortality and child malnutrition. Its beneficiaries include children in the age group of six months to six years, pregnant women and lactating mothers.

According to the report of Times of India, dated 17th Dec. 2019, 'a total of 13.79 lakh Anganwadi centres are operational in the country with a strength of 12.8 lakh workers and 11.6 lakh helpers, as per the official data'.²⁵¹ Urban areas also have Anganwadi centres but their number is few. Looking to the reality of the Anganwadi, the TOI report says that, 'A total number of 3,62,940 Anganwadi centres do not have toilets facilities and 1,59,568 Anganwadi centres do not have drinking water facilities'.

Anganwadi workers are the first contact between the economically weak and illiterate section of the society, particularly women. Therefore, for implementation of government programs and schemes related to health and education their role is very important. Village women feel more connected and safer with the Anganwadi workers (who are females) because mostly they belong to the same region and community.

The survey data shows that an average 78.1% households have access to the service of Anganwadi. The maximum approach is with the Bedia (98.3%), Bachhada (87.8%) and Kanjar (86.3) for being settled communities living in villages. Kalbelia (58.7%) and Nat (78.3%) have less access to Anganwadi due to their remoteness, illiteracy and nomadism (see Chart 10.a).

Chart 10.a - Access to the services of the Anganwadi (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 10.1

²⁵¹ Times of India dated 17th Dec., 2019. See - <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/government-plans-to-upgrade-2-5-lakh-anganwadi-centres-in-next-5-years-women-and-child-development-ministry-official/articleshow/72828637.cms>

In the survey 458 (20.5%) households have said that they are not able to attend the Anganwadi centres. They have stated the following reasons::

1. The Anganwadi centre is too far from the place of residence, i.e. ranging from half to 5 kilometers.
2. Could not afford expenses to travel to the Anganwadi centre regularly.
3. Anganwadi centre is not active or has closed down.
4. It has shifted to another place.
5. No Anganwadi centre exists near the residence.
6. The incharge of the Anganwadi does not attend regularly.
7. Due to migration cannot attend the centre regularly.
8. Mother and children are busy in making country liquor.
9. Caste discrimination exists.
10. Being illiterate, women don't know about the services and benefits of Anganwadi.
11. Internal disputes exists with the management of Anganwadi centre.
12. There are irregularities in distribution of the material by Anganwadi.

10b. Access to the local SCs/CHCs/PHCs

According to the Rural Health Statistics (2018-19) released by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare as on 31st March 2019, there are a total 160713 Sub Centres (SCs) (157411 rural + 3302 urban) functioning in India. Further, out of 157411 SCs, 7821 SCs have been converted into Health and Wellness Centres (HWCs) in rural areas and out of 3302 SCs, 98 SCs have been converted into HWCs in urban areas. Similarly, there are total 30045 Primary Health Centres (PHCs) (24855 rural + 5190 urban) functioning in India. There are 5685 Community Health Centres (CHCs) (5335 rural + 350 urban) functional in the country.²⁵² The report further states that the current numbers of SCs, PHCs & CHCs are not as per the norms of Indian Public Health Standards (IPHS).

On an average, a normal PHC covers a population of 20000-30000 people, in the radius of 6 kilometres approx. and 26 villages in vicinity. While a CHC covers larger population of 80000-120000 people in a radius of 13 kilometres approx. and 120 villages on an average. Sub-centres are the smallest health units covering a population of 3000-5000 people in a radius of 2.5 kilometres and 4 villages together.²⁵³

The SCs are the first contact point between the primary health care system and the community supervised by the paramedical staff ANM and health workers. They generally

²⁵² See https://main.mohfw.gov.in/sites/default/files/Final%20RHS%202018-19_0.pdf

²⁵³ See https://main.mohfw.gov.in/sites/default/files/Final%20RHS%202018-19_0.pdf

provide services related to maternal and child health, family welfare, nutrition, immunization, diarrhoea control and control of communicable diseases. PHC are first contact point between village community and the doctor, managed by the medical officer and paramedical staff. The activities of PHCs involve curative, preventive, promotive and family welfare services. CHCs are larger than PHCs and manned by four medical officers i.e. surgeon, physician, gynaecologist and paediatrician along with the paramedical and health staff. It has facility for beds, diagnosis and labour room. Above this tier are the First Referral Units equipped with most of the health facilities including emergency. Thus the health system works in synchronization with all these units. Below is a table listing number of SCs, PHCs and CHCs in the three states under study.

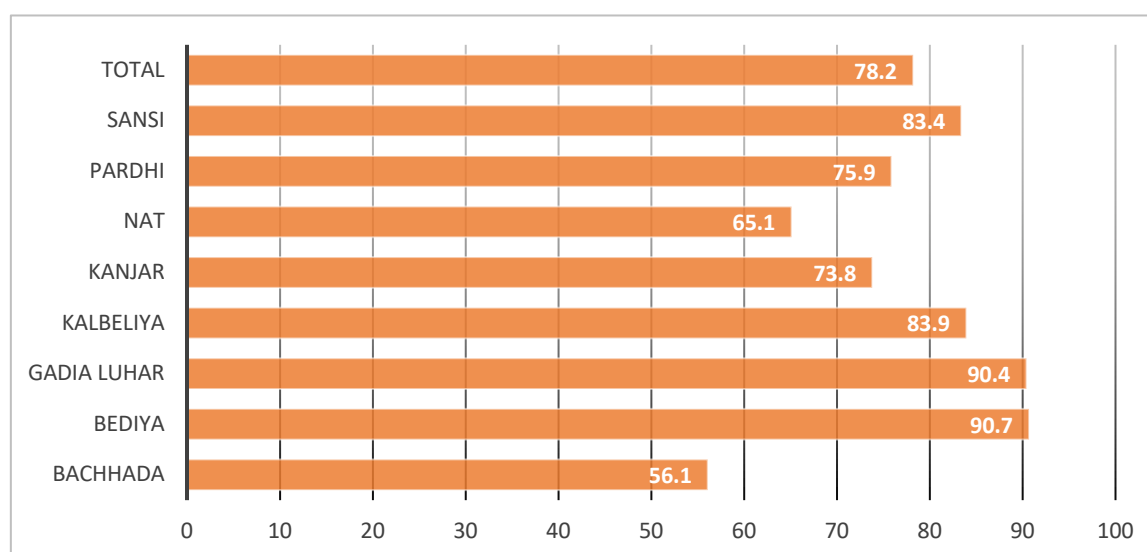
Table 10.i - State wise (those under survey) number of SCs, PHCs. CHCs functional in Rural and Urban areas (Year 2019):

Sr. No.	State	SC	PHC	CHC
1	Rajasthan	13429	2097	595
2	Gujarat	8353	951	376
3	Madhya Pradesh	10226	1146	330
4	All India	152794	20069	5685

Source: Rural Health Statistics (2018-19) released by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Govt. of India (as on 31st March 2019).

In the present survey 78.2% DNT communities have acknowledged having access to the government health facility. But this doesn't mean that they are actually taking treatment at these. This data only corresponds to the approach of the communities to these government health centres. The rest of the households (i.e. 21.8%) do not have access to them.

Chart 10.b - Households who have access to the local CHC/PHC (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 10.2

Some 488 households (i.e. 21.8%) do not have access to the PHCs/CHCs. They have stated the following reasons:

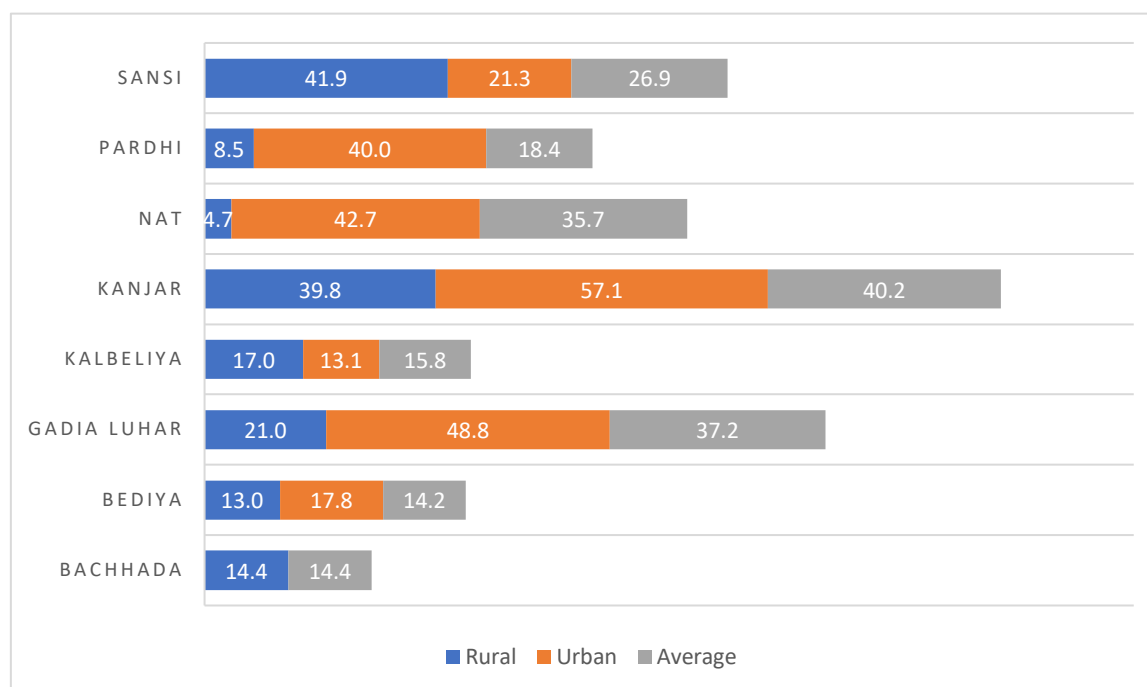
1. Distance of CHC/PHC is far from their place of residence, sometime more than 20 kilometres. This is the most common problem stated by most of the DNT members.
2. They cannot afford the travel expenses to attend the these health centres.
3. DNT members do not have Aadhar card, BPL card or health cards (Bhamashah in case of Rajasthan) required for registration at the health facility.
4. Due to migration they could not visit the health centre regularly to take complete course of medication. They are also not entertained by other state health services (in context to the nomadic communities).
5. Due to inadequate facilities at the CHC/PHC people prefer to go the district hospitals or private practitioners.
6. Lack of information about the CHC/PHC, doctors and timing.
7. No existence of CHC/PHC in the village.
8. Discrimination by the health staff.
9. Not satisfied with the quality of treatment.
10. People prefer to visit private doctors in urban areas where they are attended quickly as compared to by the government doctors.

10c. Cases of illness during the last six months

Around 26.4% (586) DNT households have reported illness in their family during the last six months. Total cases reported are of 7.8% (860) people spread among the 11064 members of 2274 household. These illness have been related to all kinds of ailments ranging from Diarrhoea, Jaundice, Malaria to Asthma, Diabetes and heart disease. Cases of HIV has also been reported. Maximum cases of illness are of Fever, Malaria, Typhoid, TB and lifestyle diseases like hypertension and diabetes. Cases of Fever and Malaria together accounts for 35% of the total cases. Below is a table showing the number of cases of hospitalization among the different communities surveyed here:

Maximum cases of illness have been reported among the Kanjar community (40.2%) which is highest among their members living in urban areas (57.1%). The reason for this according to the surveyor is that the community has given false information in expectation of getting financial benefits from the government. Followed by the Kanjar are the Gadia Luhar who have 48.8% cases of illness in urban area, total amounting to 37.2%. Least cases of illness are reported from the Bachhada community. This is due to their high immunity and robust life-style. Only those who are addicted to alcohol have cases of illness and death. See Chart 10.c below.

Chart 10.c - Cases of illness reported in last six months based on rural-urban differential (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 10.3

10d. Type of health facility accessed by the DNT communities

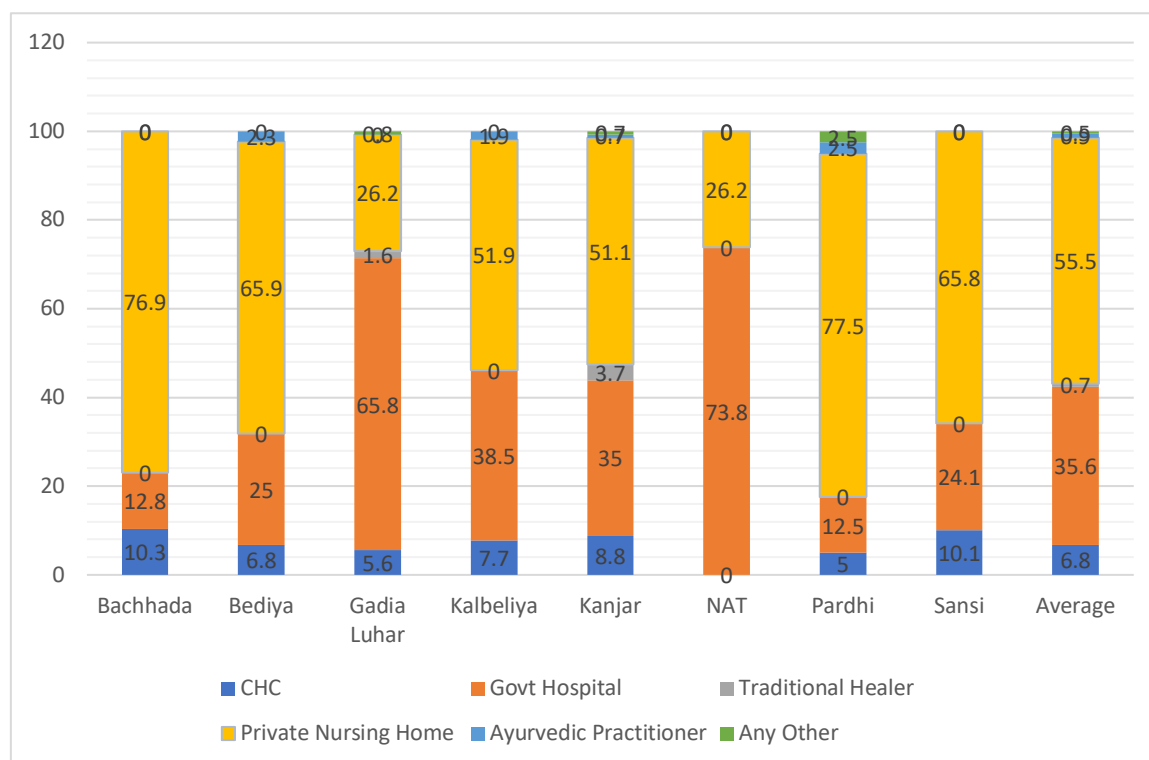
The national average data of India shows that around 45% rural and urban population use government health facilities while around 55% use private and traditional health facilities.²⁵⁴ Similarly the DNT communities also prefer private health facilities. The reason is their discrimination at the government facilities. But on looking at the data we see two exceptions among the Gadia Luhar and Nat community (both 26%) who take treatment at the government facilities. This is because of their poverty. They cannot afford private treatment. Chart 10.d shows statistics of various kind of health facilities availed by the DNT communities.

According to the survey on an average 55.5% DNT households visited private nursing homes for treatment which is equivalent to the national average of 55%. Around 35.6% households visited government hospitals which is lower than the national average of 45% according to the NFHS-4. Apart from this remaining 10% households visited traditional healers and medicine men. Unlike others, Bachhada (76.9%) and Pardhi (77.5%) have attended private nursing homes more often than any other communities. The reason for such a high percentage among them is that they are treated differently at the government health

²⁵⁴ National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4) 2015-16, pg. 376. See <http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-4Reports/India.pdf>

centres. Pardhi have a strong presumption that no one returns alive from the government hospitals. Bachhada face identity crises due to their profession of prostitution at the government hospitals. Thus they also visit private practitioners who treat them normally.

Chart 10.d - Type of health facility accessed by the households:



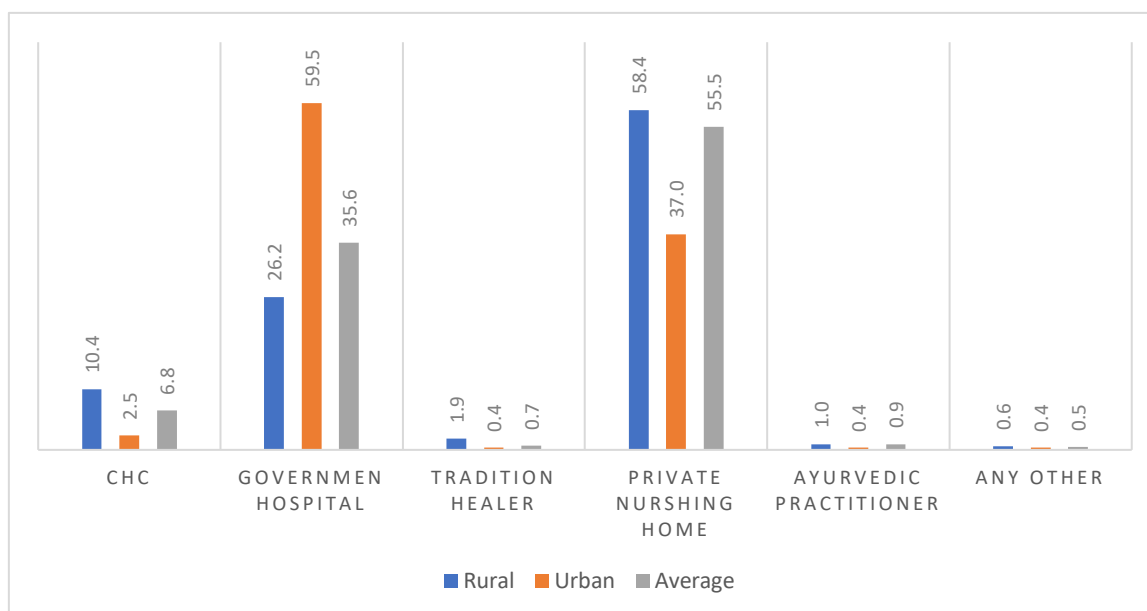
Note: See Annexure 10.4 for more details

When we bifurcate this data among the rural-urban differentials it varies greatly among the communities within themselves. For example in rural areas only 18% Kalbelia visit government hospitals but in urban areas this percentage is 100%. Similar is a case among Gadia Luhar - in rural 29.6% of them visit government hospital while in urban it is 75.8%. Even by looking at the average data of rural and urban we find many differences. See Annexure 10.4 and Annexure 10.5 for more details.

The difference in rural and urban data is affected by various factors like the distance to the health facility, financial condition of the household, literacy, reliability of the health facility, past experience of treatment, social discrimination, language barrier, hygiene maintenance, etc. It has been found that the private practitioners are more responsive to the DNT members unlike the government medical practitioners. In private clinics they are attended immediately while at government facilities it takes time, both for diagnosis and treatment. In rural areas people prefer to seek treatment at private nursing homes (58.4%) rather than

at the government hospitals (26.2%). In rural areas those who cannot afford to visit private doctors and clinics, they seek treatment at the local CHC (10.4%).

Chart 10.e - Rural-urban differential of the type of health facility (average data of 8 communities in %):



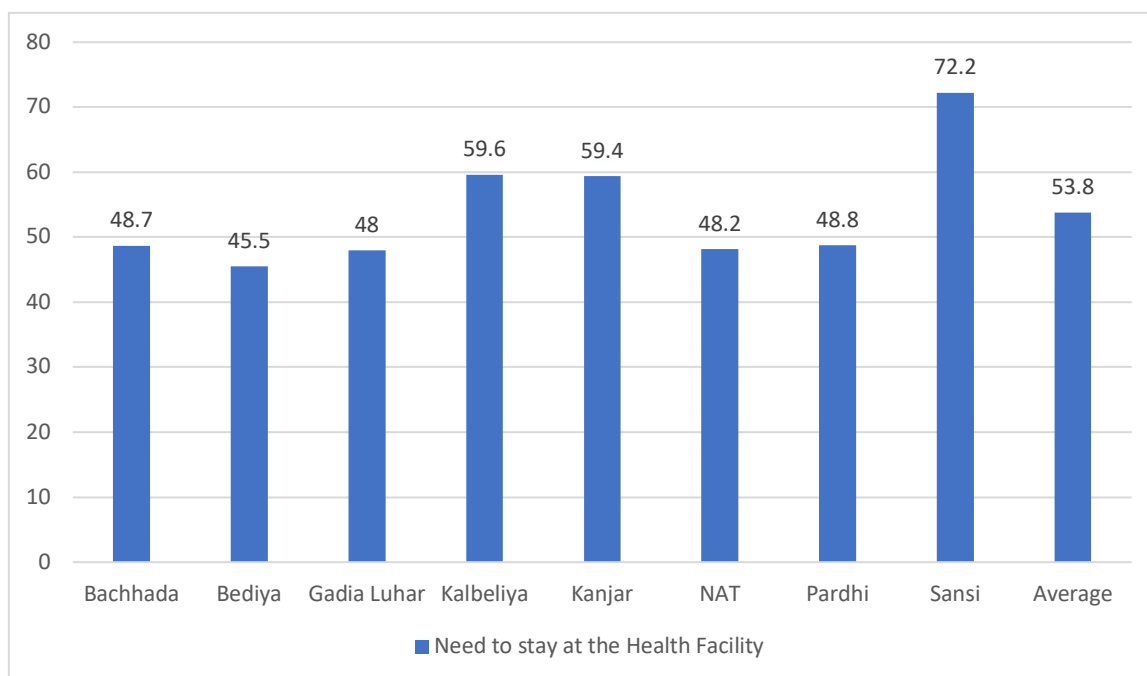
Note: See Annexure 10.5 for more details

10e. Need to stay at the health facility

Under the survey different percentages of DNT patients staying at the health facilities could be seen among the eight communities. Around 53.8% (315 households out of the 586 households) have stated that they have had to stay at a health facility for treatment. The maximum percentage is among the Sansi (72.2%). This depends on the type of health issues, but largely it is for the institutional delivery of babies for which the women have to be admitted for a few days.

Since the percentage of institutional delivery is low among the Gadia Luhar they show a lower percentage in of stay at the health facility, while Sansi believe more in institutional deliveries, thus their percentage of stay at the health facility is high (see Annexure 10.6). Due to the incentives under the National Health Mission (NHM), people have started going for institutional deliveries. But among the Bachhada community many of the deliveries and abortions are still in private hospitals and nursing homes due to the identity issue. They find private health facilities more comfortable as compared to the government ones as they do not enquire much.

Chart 10.f - Data showing percentage of people who have acknowledged their stay at the health facility for medical treatment (out of the 586 households who have fallen sick during the last six months):



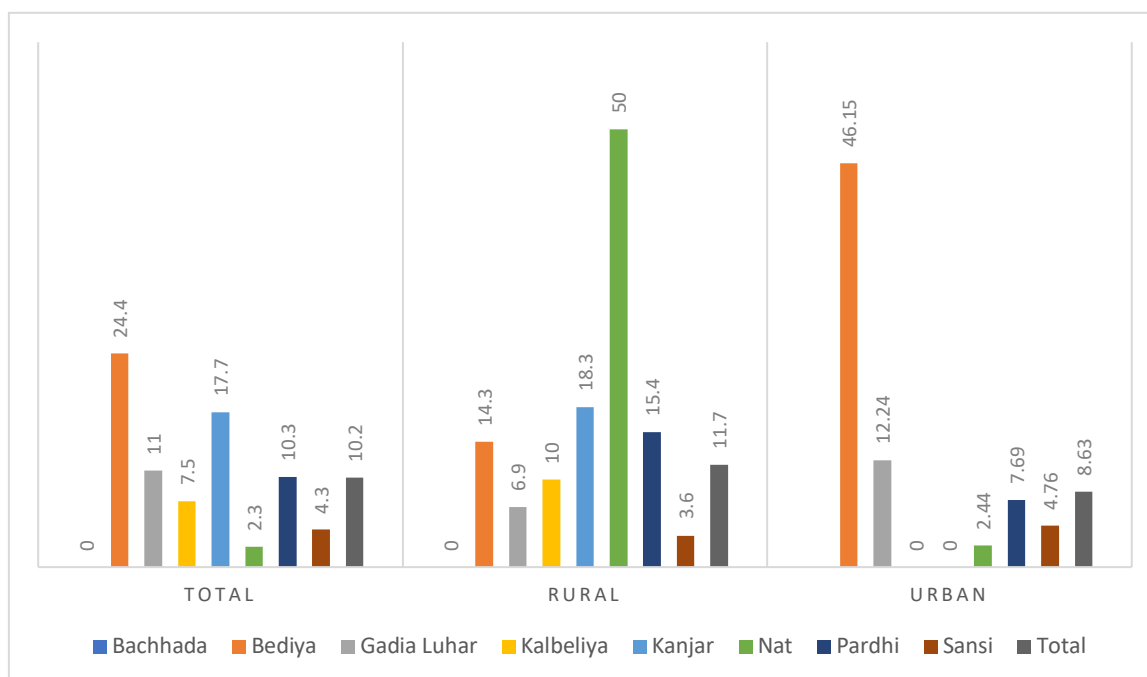
Note: See Annexure 10.6 for more details

10f. Whether treated differently as compared to other caste patients

In the survey 10.2% households among those who have been admitted at the health facilities have complained of being treated differently from others.. This is a common complaint of most of the DNT community members. It is because of their caste, profession, language, behaviour and life-style. Already being financially poor, and living in scarcity DNT communities are not able to maintain hygiene thus they are asked to stand away maintaining a distance from the health workers. This percentage of discrimination is highest among the Bedia due to their professional identity issue of being involved in sex trade.

The rate of discrimination is lowest in Bachhada because it pertains to the private health facility where they are taken in without any discrimination and questioning. They do not seek treatment at the government hospitals due to their profession identity crises. Data of discrimination in Annexure 10.8 has direct relationship with the kind of health facility the household is accessing. There is less caste and professional discrimination in private hospitals. Because of this women from the Bachhada and Bedia communities prefer to visit private practitioners and hospitals.

Chart 10.g - Percentage of the DNT communities being treated differently at the health facility:



Note: See Annexure 10.7 for more details

The following are the main reasons for being treated differently at the health facilities:

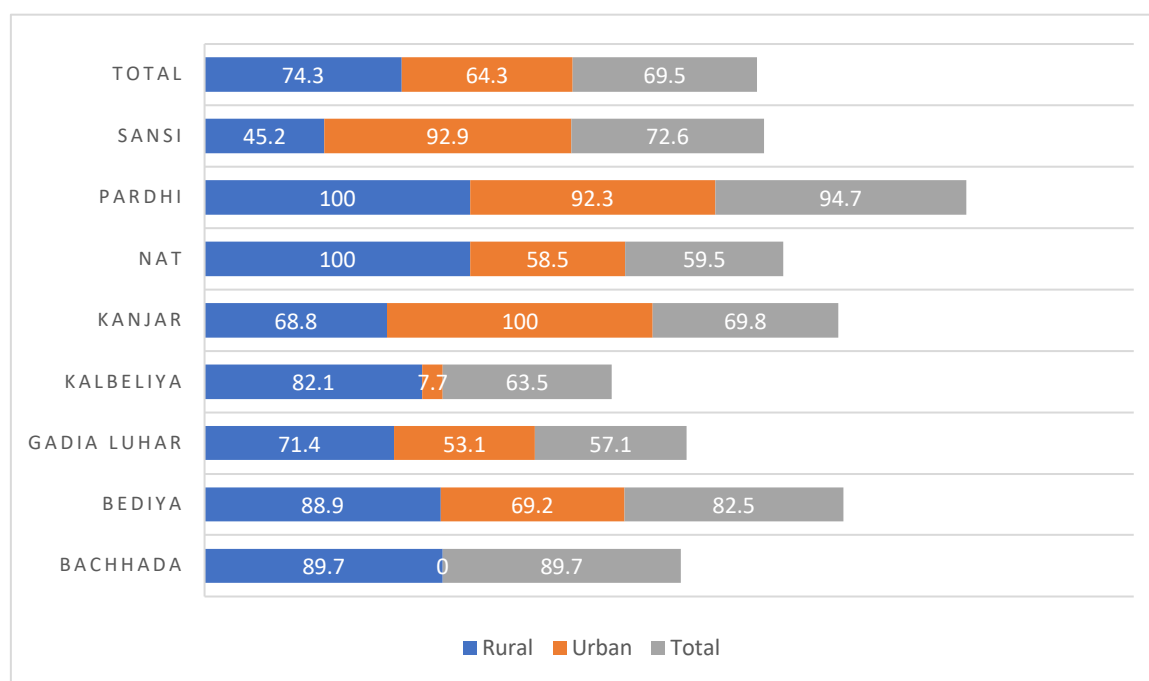
1. Transport issues - the Ambulance service is not willing or is not able to access the DNT localities.
2. Caste based discrimination is high.
3. Poverty based discrimination, lack of financial resources for treatment.
4. Negative attitude of the health staff towards the HIV and TB patients.
5. Abuse by the Nursing staff for their mannerism.
6. Discriminated against for the dirty clothes and unhygienic condition of the DNT patients and their accompanying attendants.

10g. Need to pay for treatment at the health facility

This totally depends on the kind of health facility accessed for treatment. If it is private then everyone has to pay. But government has launched many health welfare and insurance schemes, but still the beneficiaries have to pay for diagnosis and medication outside the government facilities. The survey has found that 69.5% patients (among those admitted, i.e. 25.8%) paid in full at the facility, 19.1% paid partially, and 11.4% did not pay (see Annexure 10.8). But looking into details of some of the community we see that 59.5% among the Nat paid fully and remaining 40.5% paid partially. Bachhada (89.7%) and Pardhi (94.7%) are maximum payers among others. Its reason is that they prefer to visit private nursing homes

or private practitioners as stated above. There they have to necessarily spend money for the treatment.

Chart 10.h - Percentage of DNT patients required to pay for treatment at the health facility (data in %):



Note: See Annexure 10.8 for more details

10h. Expenditure on treatment

The mean health expenditure per household at the health facility among those admitted (i.e. 25.8% of the total households) ranges from Rs. 3819 among the Nat to Rs. 62827 in Kalbelia. The expenditure is very high among the Kalbelia community because the community does not have faith in government facilities and only take treatment at private hospitals. Due to working in mines they encounter diseases like Tuberculosis (TB) and Silicosis. The community is unaware about the free medical treatment for TB under the government sponsored DOT program.

Life style diseases like hypertension and gastric issues have been reported among the Kalbelia nomadic community. Living in tents and in the open, the community encounters many contagious diseases like skin ailments, typhoid and malaria. Many people in the community chew tobacco, thus treatment of cancer incurs heavy expenditure. A high number of women have hysterectomies which is another reason for expenditure. Among the Pardhi and Bachhadha also the expenses are high because they take treatment only at the private health facilities. See mean expenditure in Table 10.ii below:

Table 10.ii - Mean expenditure at the health facility (Annual):

DNT Tribes	Mean Expenditure (INR)	Households
Bachhada	20123.0	40
Bedia	11329.3	41
Gadia Luhar	8624.2	128
Kalbelia	62826.9	52
Kanjar	11246.5	129
Nat	3818.8	85
Pardhi	29842.1	38
Sansi	12205.5	73

Note: See Annexure 10.9 for more details

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MIGRATION

11a. Migration of Families

The nature of migration varies among the communities. Many nomadic communities have stopped migration due to restrictions on their traditional practices under the rules and regulations of the government made from time to time. Many of the caste oriented traditional practices are no more patronized by the new generation of patrons. For example, the Nat who used to visit their patrons and earn gifts and alms are no more entertained by the younger generation. Thus, they are compelled to settle in cities where men play marriage drums while women beg on streets. Similarly, Kalbelia who used to sell earth colours like white *khadiya* and *geru* over donkeys and in carts when mud houses existed have now shifted to collecting plastic. They have shifted to cities leaving their villages. Same is the case with the Gadia Luhar whose traditional iron tools are no more required. They have shifted their profession to demolishing old houses and selling scrap articles from it. Many girls from the Bedia, Bachhada and Kanjar community have permanently shifted to metro cities to find clients and run their profession independently. In villages the matter of identity and restrictions does not allow them to continue with their traditional practices of Rai and Chakri dance.

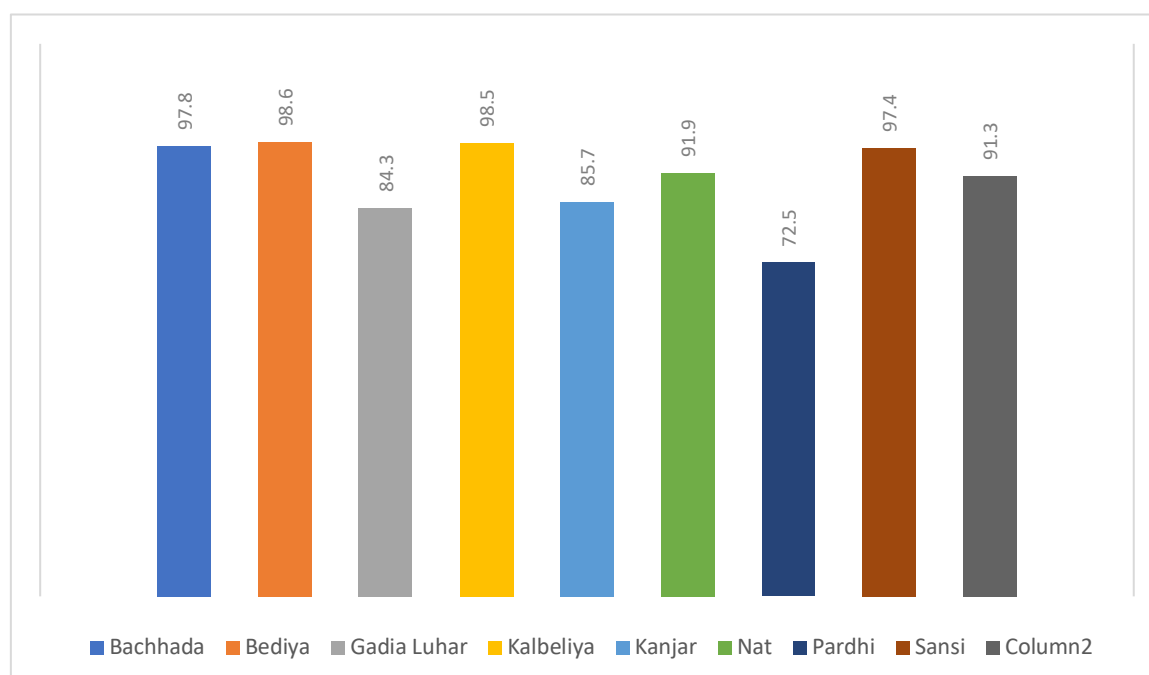
On the one hand we see an end to traditional nomadism due to the annihilation of traditional practices while on the other hand a new type of migration has started to find new ways of livelihood in cities. The pressure on cities has tremendously increased in the past few decades. Many new slums have mushroomed on the periphery of the big cities and highways. This is a sad reality that the most talented people, bearers of cultural identities that shaped the history of this country are now jobless, living in slums in a distressful condition. Being helpless they are either compelled to choose unskilled jobs in the construction industry or do low profile works like collecting garbage and scrap.

There are some frightening revelations from the girls in the Gadia Luhar community who have opted for prostitution in recent years out of poverty. The community who once idealized the Rajput ruler Maharana Pratap is now helpless and has taken up sex trade to survive. This survey has come up with many depressing findings of the households, and their forced migration due to various reasons.

The survey data shows that 91.3% households have been permanently staying at their current location for a long time. They have identified it as their native place. But this refers to one or two generations only, i.e. period of 30 to 50 years. The high percentage of communities claiming the place of current residence as their native place is from the fear of displacement by government authorities. They wish to claim their rights on the present land which they might have encroached or acquired in the last few years.

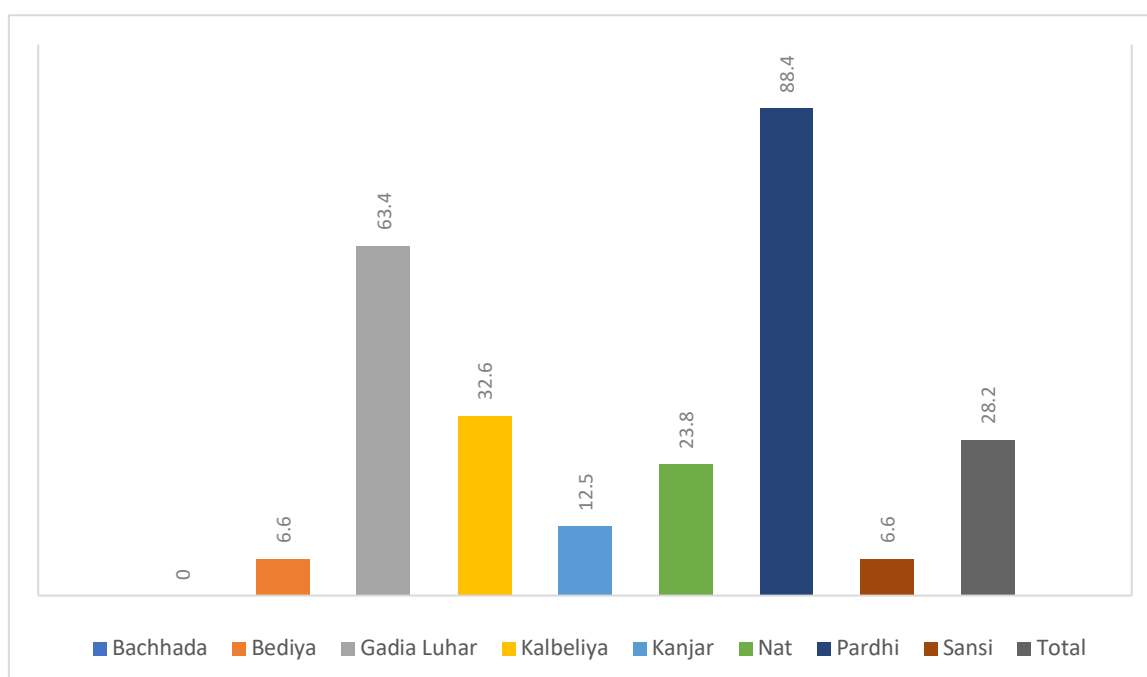
Migration is a long established practice. For example, in Chart 11.a, 84.3% Gadia Luhar households have stated that their current place of living is their native place but on the other hand they have also stated the fact that 63.4% among them have migrated to the current place from outside. That may be of a few generations back, mostly from their grandfather's generation. Therefore, there is a time space which has to be understood in respect of the communities under study. Their individual migrations have different meanings. Some of the migrations are inter-state. These migrations range from two weeks to a few months.

Chart 11.a - Percentage of households having their current address as their native place:



Note: For details see Annexure 11.1

Chart 11.b - Percentage of households who have migrated to the current place:



Note: For details see Annexure 11.2

On comparing Chart 11.a and 11.b, we see that two of the communities Gadia Luhar and Nat are showing a very different kind of high percentage for both the factors of nativity and migration simultaneously. This is due to the reason that these communities have now become semi-nomadic. They have a place of permanent stay since last 2-3 decades. Here they have been either granted land by the government, inherited land from their parents, or have settled in city slums. But even after settling to these permanent places they keep moving for six to eight months in search of work. For example the Gadia Luhar still travel on their traditional route to the villages to claim their hereditary rights. They still get some earning from trading in cattle and making iron tools. The Nat community also has a permanent residence in either a village or slum but migrate to urban centres during the marriage season for work (i.e. marriage drum playing). Among the Kalbelia, 32.6% migrate for collecting iron and plastic scrap, selling woollen blankets and utensils in rural areas. During the season of agriculture harvest they also migrate to work in the fields.

The Sansi, Kanjar, Bedia, Bachhada and Kalbelia communities have been living in their present locations for more than a century, thus a high percentage of children have been born there (see Chart 11.a). About 963 people have stated various reasons for migration. These migrations may happen in the near future or relate to the past when their parents or grandparents migrated to the present place of residence. The following reasons for migration have been stated:

1. To find employment.
2. Because of profession of making iron tools for the villagers (in case of Gadia Luhar).
3. Due to poverty they currently migrate to towns and cities to seek casual labour work.
4. Displaced from the forest land by the forest officials; from the waste land by the villagers and from road side by police, they are forced to move on.
5. For beggary in urban centres.
6. Escaping debt obligations in the village.
7. For Rai and Chakri dance (Bedia and Kanjar respectively) during the season to earn living from the traditional patrons or in marriage parties.
8. For education and higher studies of the child.
9. Due to lack of resources and no earning in the village.
10. Due to caste discrimination especially by the villagers (see Picture 17).
11. To do share-cropping farming on others' land.
12. To find new opportunities for livelihood.
13. To hide identity and find new work for livelihood.
14. For hunting opportunities (case of Pardhi).
15. Due to community or family conflict.
16. To start scrap collection in new places (Kalbelia and Nat).
17. To find employment in industries (including construction).
18. To find work in mines (Kalbelia).
19. In the profession of prostitution, girls have to go with the client for 15 to 30 days at a time (Bachhada). Sometime it is also for months and years to pay debt of the family (Kanjar).

Communities like Kalbelia, Nat and Gadia Luhar still have fixed seasonal migration routes which depend on their profession. Monsoon is considered to be a lean period when most of these communities stay at their permanent residence. Soon after the monsoon Gadia Luhar move out to the villages for making iron tools. Diwali period is remunerative for begging in the market areas when Nat and Kalbelia families migrate to big cities. Soon after Diwali as marriages start, the drum players from Nat community move to cities to be employed. The winter period is good for earning for most of the communities. This is the time when the Kalbelia also earn well by selling woollen blankets.

Migrations are both intra-district and inter-state. Pardhi from Madhya Pradesh travel to Rajasthan and UP for collecting scrap, pick-pocketing and thefts. Sansi from Gujarat travel to Maharashtra and Rajasthan. Bedia girls migrate to Mumbai, Nagpur and Delhi. Kalbelia from Rajasthan visits Delhi and UP for labour work and begging. Kanjar from Madhya

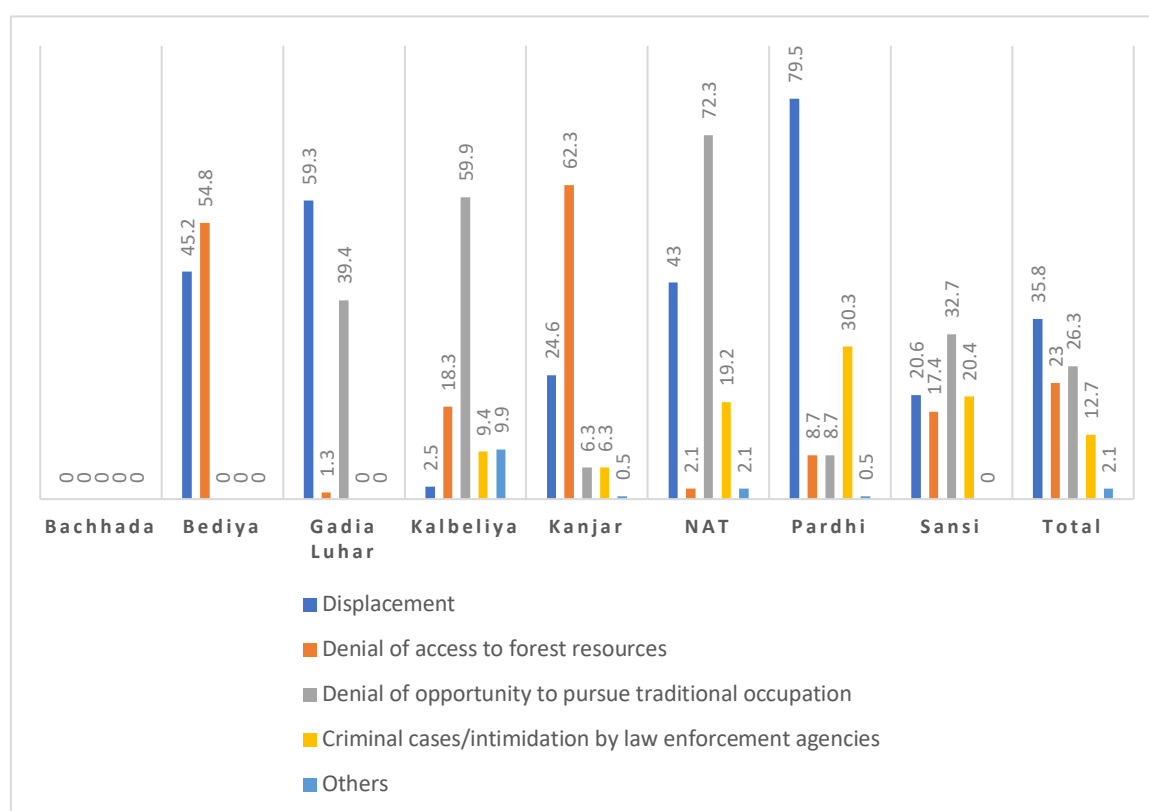
Pradesh visit UP for making country liquor. Nat from Rajasthan visit Haryana and Delhi for labour work and return back during the monsoon.

11b. Reasons for forced migration

In the survey, 1124 households have stated the reasons of migration broadly categorised under five categories (see Chart 11.c). There are cases of migration among the Kalbelia, Kanjar, Nat, Pardhi and Sansi community due to the criminal cases. Displacement of Bedia in recent time is happening due to identity issue. The community wants to educate their children thus they are moving to the cities for anonymity. They disguise their identity by putting name of their *gotra* (clan or sub-caste names) instead of caste. The rate of displacement among the Pardhi is high as they have been moved out of the forests under the Wildlife Protection Act 1972.

The percentage of denial of opportunity to pursue traditional occupation is high among the Gadia Luhar, Kalbelia and Nat community as already stated above. There are high numbers of criminal cases against the Pardhi, Sansi and Nat which leads to their displacement.

Chart 11.c - Major reasons for forced migration (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 11.3

11c. Impact of migration on children's education

One of the major effect of migration is on education of the children. Many among them drop out from the schools in between the session. The new school environment (if they get admission at a new place) creates anxieties within them and slowly they lose interest in studies and teachers. After leaving studies, they start working with parents or take care of the household work. Girls generally take care of kitchen and prepare food for the family members. If there are young ones in the house then they take care of them when both father and mother go out for work.

11d. Frequency of migration

The migrations are for short durations as well as longer durations as stated above. Short duration migrations are during the festive occasions for a couple of weeks and long duration migration are in cases like share cropping farming, extending from 8 to 10 months. Many individuals or households migrate 10 to 15 times during a year. They travel to places as far as Punjab, Delhi, Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, etc. from the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh as reflected in the survey. During the COVID-19 first lockdown (Mar.-2020) many migrant labour who hit the media were among the DNT communities. According to one of the viral videos during those days, one of the Kalbelia man from Bundi district travelled all the way from Bangalore on a bicycle to bring her aged mother back.

11e. Permission of police for migration

In the survey a few of the households have reported that they have to take permission for their movement and migration from the police. This number is less than 10% but such permission from the local police station is required so that they are not troubled later on. People who beg on the streets are fearful of the police of being booked under the anti-beggary act. Thus they seek permission or inform the police in advance. Apart from this those who put up their temporary shops or huts for a living have to take permission from the local police station. Police generally suspect nomadic people of having criminal backgrounds. If any theft happens in the region then they are the first people to be picked up for interrogation. Many a time, at night their houses are raided when police have any doubts about them.

11f. Number of times of migration

In the survey around 350 households have stated the frequency of their migration ranges from one time to twenty times - maximum being one time migration (25%), followed by two times (11%), three times (6%), four times (9%) and five times (10%). Rest of the 39% are

for frequencies between six to twenty times. Migration within a month also varies from 1 time to 9-10 times. The different frequencies are related to the different kind of professions practiced by the communities under survey.

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ISOLATION, MARGINALIZATION & DISCRIMINATION

The cases of police atrocities are due to the prevailing prejudice regarding the stigma of criminality attached with these communities. Both society and police account their historical identity established by the Criminal Tribe Act-1871. Thus, their livelihood practices, movements, localities are always under the scanner of police and law enforcement agencies. Based on suspicion their homes are raided and destroyed, people are remanded including the women and adolescent children. After CTA's repeal, the Habitual Offenders Act became a tool for the Police to continue criminalization of these communities. The restrictions on their forest based and traditional practices has not only created problem for their livelihood but also displaced from their natural habitats. And forcing them to live in city slums.

In the survey it has also been noticed that to extort money and commission from the community false cases are registered. This affects the psychology and self-esteem of the youth of the community. Many police atrocities lead to custodial deaths and suicide. Below are some of the points which could be grouped together to indicate the level of atrocities against these communities:

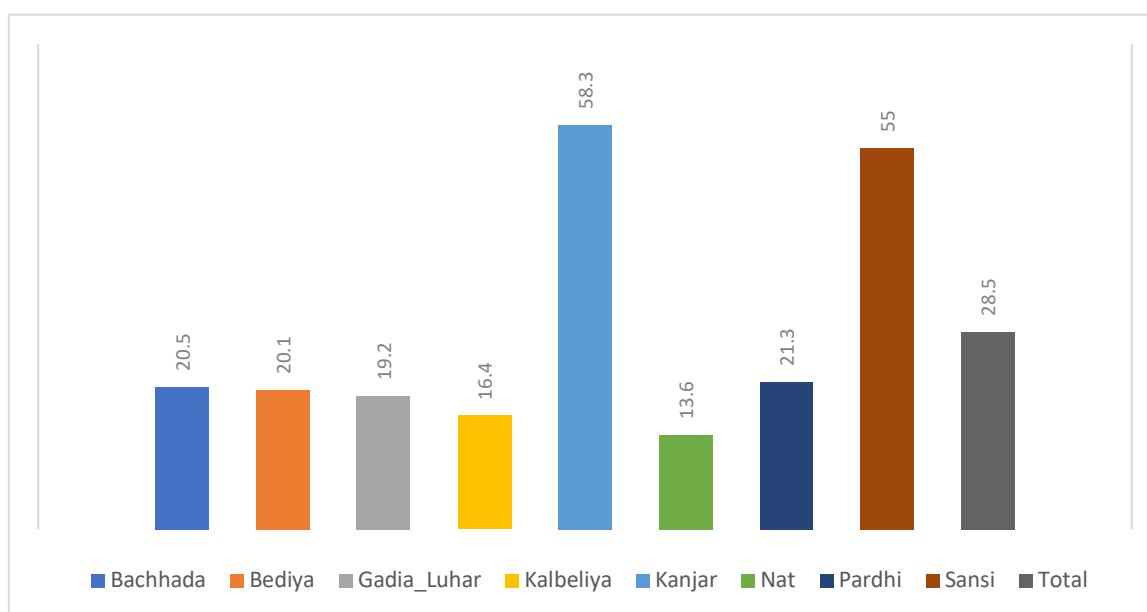
12a. Police visit to the locality (during the last one year, i.e. 1999-2000)

The average percentage of households who have acknowledged police visits to their locality is 28.5%. The various percentages of this are listed in the chart below with Kanjar having reported the maximum (58.3%)²⁵⁵ followed by Sansi (55%), Pardhi (21.3%), Bachhada (20.5%), Bedia (20.1%), Gadia Luhar (19.2%)²⁵⁶, Kalbelia (16.4%) and Nat 13.6%.

²⁵⁵ This represents 58.3% of the total 321 households surveyed in the project.

²⁵⁶ Since Gadia Luhar live in separate houses house with other communities in the village, thus this data refers to other communities living with them. Gadia Luhar is a peace-loving honest community and not involved in any criminal activities to be under police notice.

Chart 12.a - Police visit to the community's locality during the last one year (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 12.1

The cases of police visits among the Kanjar and Sansi are highest because in most of their villages police *chowkis* have been established for regular patrolling and watch on their activities. There are cases of frequent police raids at night to catch the suspects or keep a watch on them. Whenever there are thefts and dacoity in the region houses of Kanjar, Sansi, Pardhi and Kalbelia are frisked. If there are temporary encampments of Kalbelia and Nat in the region they are raided by the police, mostly at mid-night when men are at home. This disturbs the women and children psychology and creates fear and insecurity among them. Many a time they take away the men and women of the family and put them in lockup for investigations. There are many cases of custodial deaths among the Pardhi due to harsh beatings and punishment in the lockups. See Picture 19, 20 & 21.

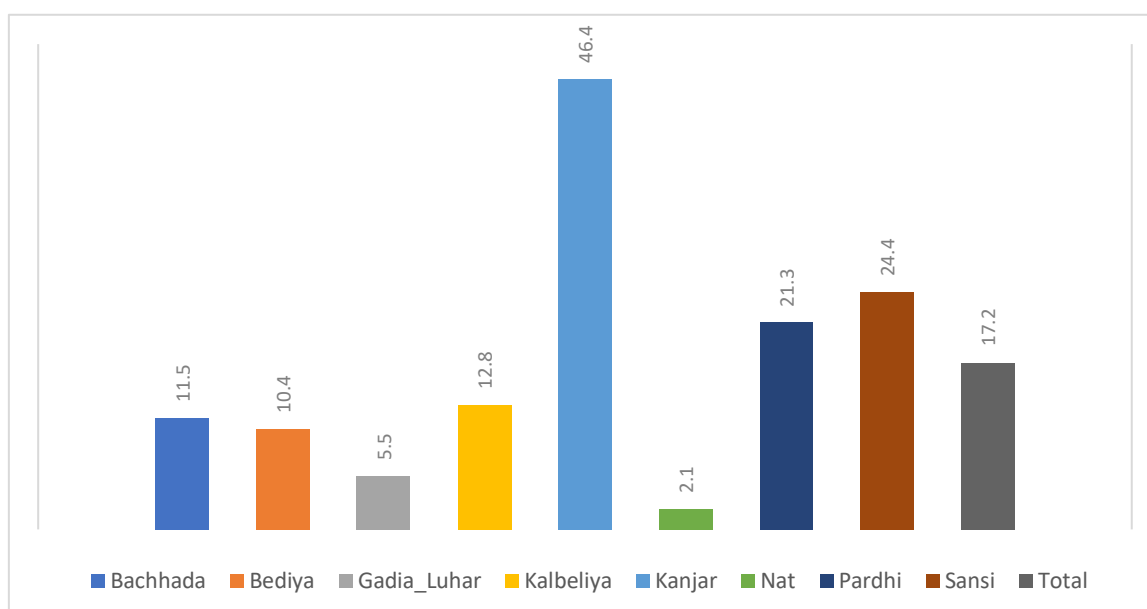
12b. Approach Police to seek help

In general, the DNT communities avoid seeking out police. In case they encounter them, they change their path. It is also the job of the police to keep an eye on them while on patrol duty. But when the DNT communities get into trouble because of their people being picked up by the police, or locked up, they approach the police for their release. When there are internal disputes within the community, cross cases are filed in the police station.

The survey data shows that from the eight communities under study, 391 (17.2% of the total 2274 households) people approached police for help. Among these Kanjar community approaches the Police most (46.4%), followed by Sansi (24.4%) and Pardhi (23.2%). The criminal cases of theft and robbery, country liquor making, selling fake gold, etc. are also

high among these communities apart from prostitution as compared to others. Even without genuine reasons also people of these communities when spotted in public places like market areas, grain mandi, fairs, etc. are immediately detained. There are cases of detention by the Railway Police also when members of such communities are spotted in trains; though they might be going for a pilgrimage. This is general practice that in the evening police put up check-posts to frisk people returning home. The Kanjar community claim that in the evening hours they are held, and false cases of country liquor trade are enforced upon them. In such a situation the family members of the detained person have to rush to seek help of the police. Thus, the ratio of police help sought by them is directly proportional to the number of criminal cases in which they are booked. The table and chart below illustrate this data more clearly.

Chart 12.b - Approach to Police to seek help (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 12.2

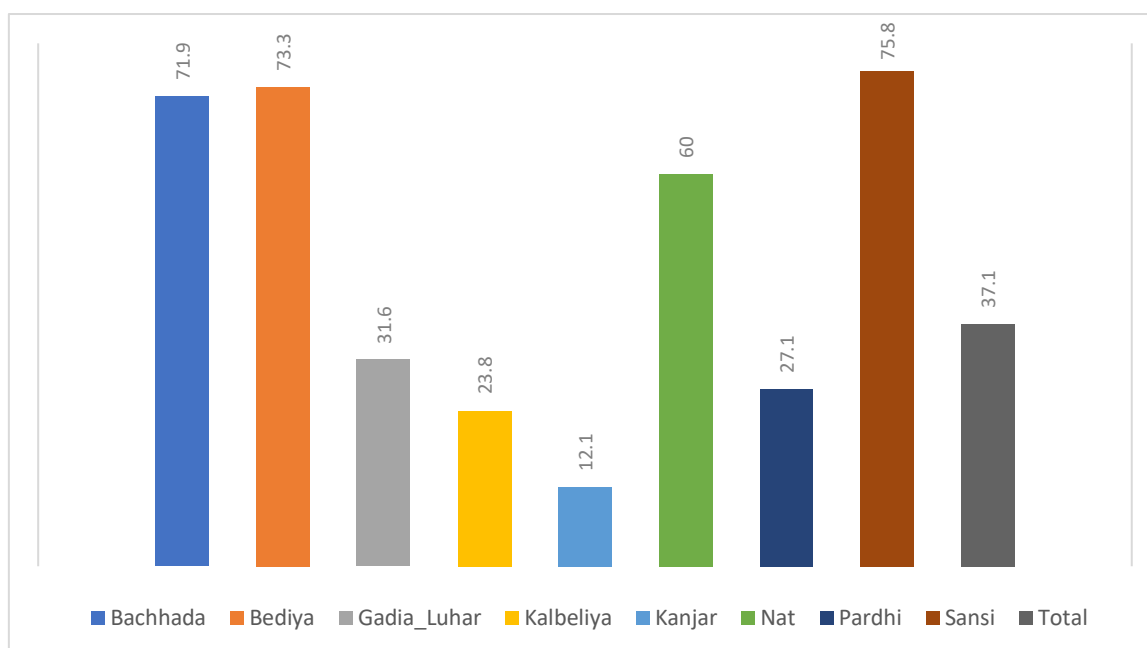
The major reasons stated in the survey for approaching the police for help are related to cases of theft, conflict with other community members, family disputes, false charges of making illicit liquor, alcoholism, gambling, kidnapping, fire in the forest, women and child harassment, land right issues, property division, cases of extortion of money, false charges of murder, etc. 17.2% of the total households have reported these matters in the survey. This percentage is highest among the Kanjar because of the internal community disputes for which they frequently file cases in the nearby police station. Members of the Sansi and Pardhi community are frequently picked up by the police in cases of illicit liquor manufacturing and theft charges. To rescue them their family members have to visit the police stations.

12c. Help received from the Police

Around 37.1% (145 households) of the total 391 households who went to seek help have acknowledged getting help from the police. But such help is sought after paying a bribe or with good contacts with the police. Apart from this, in some of the villages, nexus between members of the DNT community and police exists for illegal practices for which regular *hafta* (commission) is paid to the police. They negotiate in cases of police criminal cases applied on members of the community.

The chart below shows different percentages of help received by the communities under study. The survey shows that the Kanjar (12.1%), Kalbelia (23.8%), Gadia Luhar (31.6%) and Pardhi (27.1%) received least help from the police. This may be due to a negative attitude and apprehensions about the police. Chart 12.c illustrates this data below.

Chart 12.c - Help received from the Police (data in %):

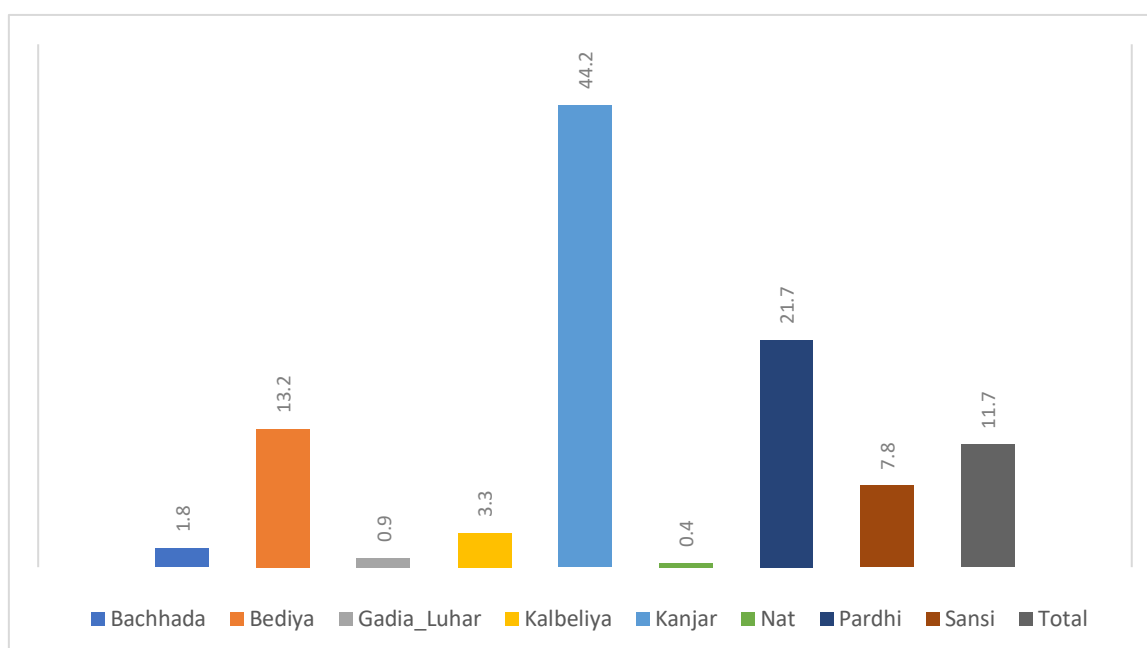


Note: For details see Annexure 12.3

12d. Asked to pay bribe by the police officials

In the survey 11.7% (267 households) have admitted having paid bribe to the police officials. This percentage is highest among the Kanjar community (44.2%) followed by the Pardhi (21.7%), Bedia (13.2%) and Sansi (7.8%). This directly corresponds to the vulnerability of the DNT community. It is highest among the Kanjar because in most of their villages Police *chowki* have been established right at the entrance. Their regular contact with the police makes them more vulnerable on a daily basis. See Annexure 12.4 and Chart 12.d.

Chart 12.d - Asked to pay bribe by the police officials (data in %):



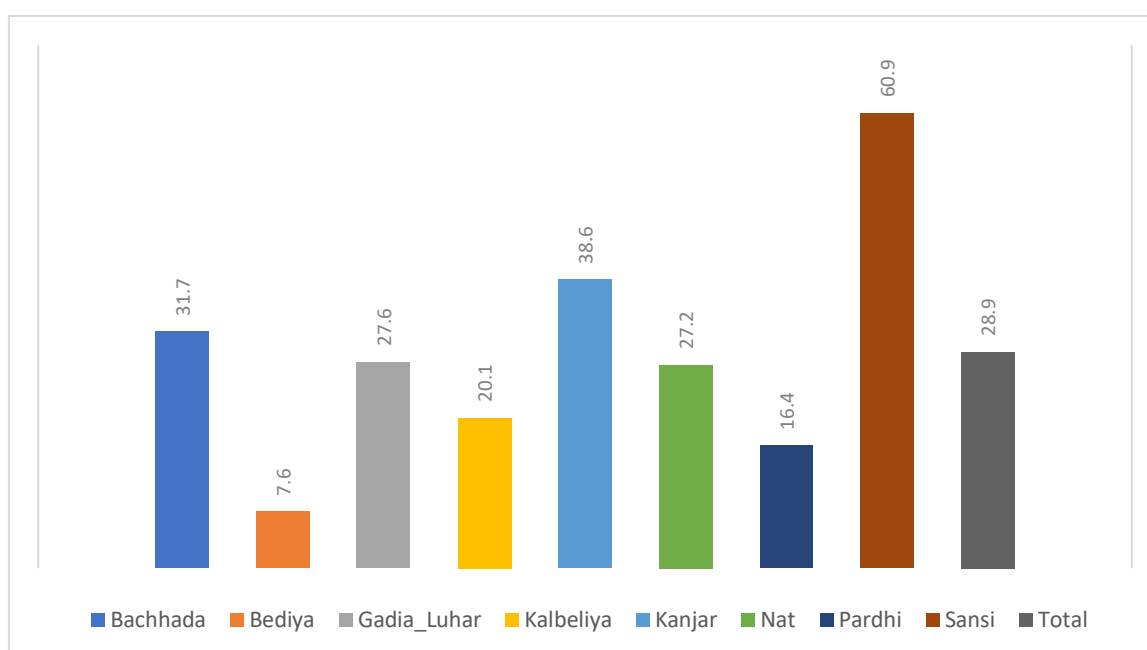
Note: For details see Annexure 12.4

The amount of bribe paid by 267 members ranges from Rs. 250 to Rs. 5 Lakh. The average bribe among the 267 households stands at Rs. 15,000. The average amount is itself a large sum of a money for which the community is compelled to either take money on high interest rates or sell their daughters through sex trade to raise the amount. Many innocent youth members and women are also compelled to pay bribe otherwise threatened to be detained and put into jails.

12e. Have ever met a Lawyer

In the survey 28.9% (658) households have stated that they have met a lawyer for consultation on legal matters. This percentage is high (42.2%) in the urban areas. In total 38.6% Kanjar and 60.9% Sansi from the 658 households have sought help of a lawyer in their criminal cases listed in Annexure 12.5. According to the data, Bedia community seek least legal help as most of their disputes are solved by the caste Panchayat. Also the community is a peace loving community and most of their girls who are into sex trade live in metro cities.

Chart 12.e - Frequency of meeting with the Lawyer for legal matters (data in %):



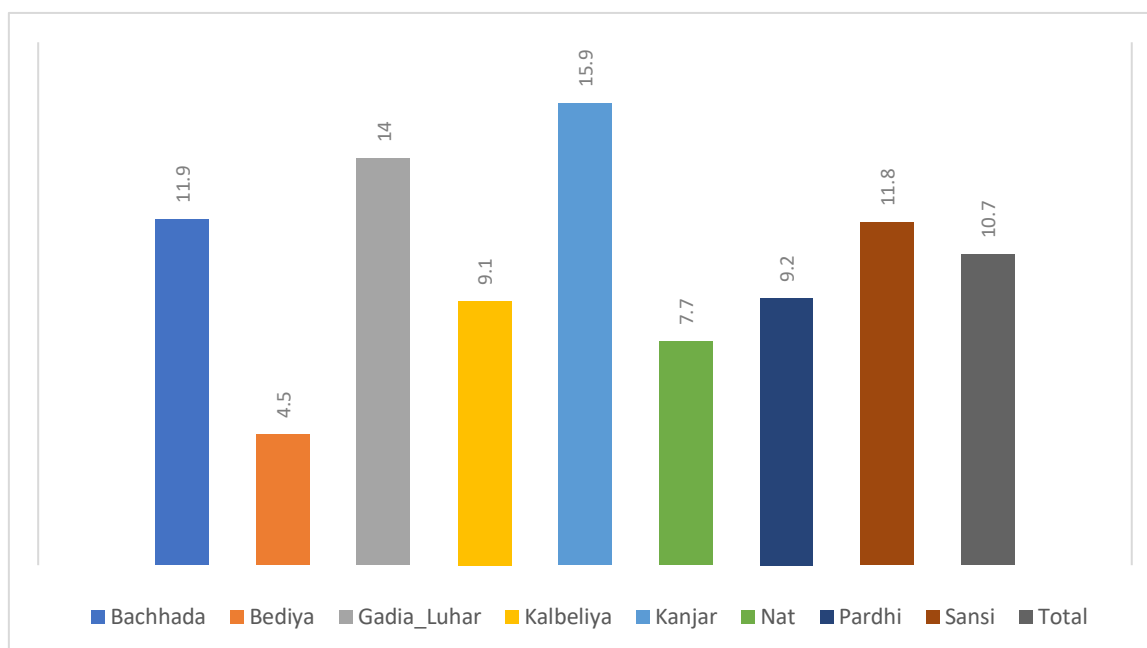
Note: For details see Annexure 12.5

When men are caught it is always a women to approach the lawyers for fighting cases of their men and getting bail for them. Thus the women among the Sansi, Kanjar and Pardhi communities are very strong to deal with legal cases and police. Most of such cases are related to theft under Sec. 379 and dacoity under Sec. 399 & 402, of IPC. Apart from this Sec. 16/56 and 19/54 of Excise (in Rajasthan) are common.

12f. Visit to the court regarding family cases

In the survey many cases have been reported regarding family disputes. Most of these cases are solved by the *Jati* Panchayats at the community level. But sometime both the parties do not agree and they file their matters in court. These cases are mainly related to ancestral property, non-payment of borrowed money, divorce or marriages. This survey shows that 244 households visited the court. The Annexure 12.6 and Chart 12.f illustrate the data community wise in %.

Chart 12.f - Court visit for family cases (data in %):



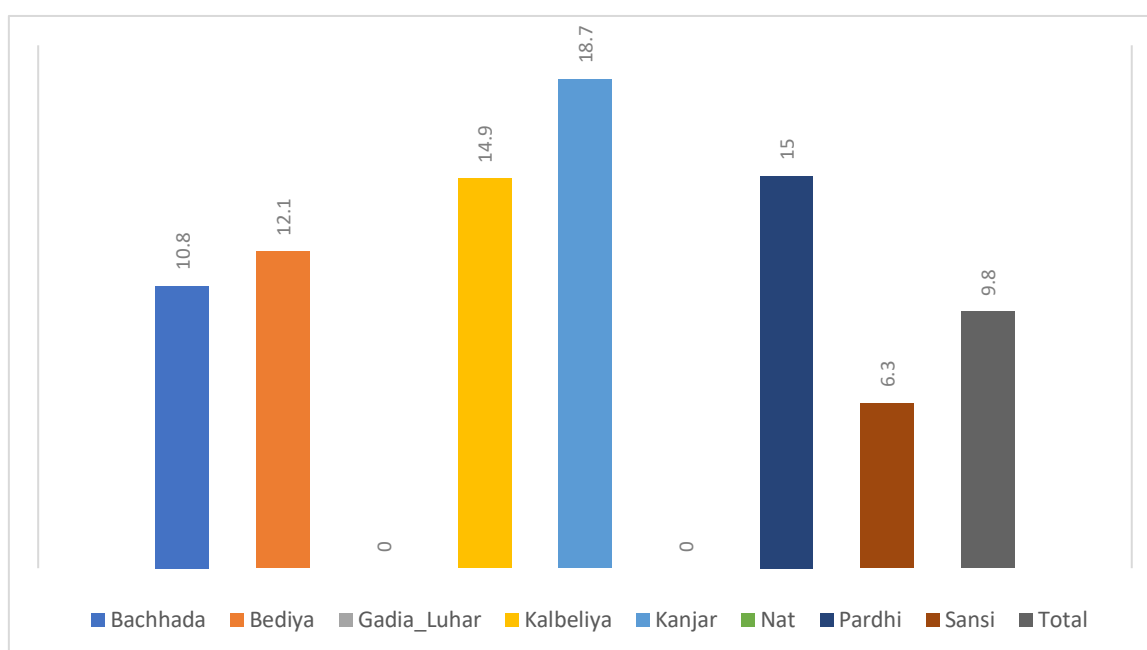
Note: For details see Annexure 12.6

According to the data, the maximum number of cases reported are from the Kanjar community (15.9%) followed by the Gadia Luhar (14%), Bachhada (11.9%), Sansi (11.8%), etc. The reason for these communities visiting the court is their dissatisfaction with their caste Panchayats which charge a huge amount of money to solve the cases (see Picture 36). Such disputes lead to huge debts whether they are dealt with in the caste Panchayat or by the judiciary courts. As compared to the caste Panchayat the judiciary court cases take much longer to give decisions. This lives the community in dispute for a longer period leading to strained relations. Many a time it turns into physical attacks.

12g. Status of criminal cases in the family

In the survey there are 9.8% (223) criminal cases registered against the household head or the family members. The maximum cases are among the Kanjar households amounting to 18.7% of their total households followed by the Pardhi (15%), Kalbelia (14.9%), Bedia (12.1%), Bachhada (10.8%) and Sansi (6.3%). There are zero criminal cases against the Gadia Luhar and Nat communities who do not have a criminal background. There are 20 juvenile criminal cases also reported in the survey. The Annexure 12.7 and chart below illustrate this fact clearly.

Chart 12.g - Criminal cases in the family (data in %):



Note: For details see Annexure 12.7

On reading the criminal report of communities under study in the media many cases against the Kanjar have been reported in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan (see Picture 10). Members of these communities, if suspected of a crime are always said to be members of criminal gangs. The same is the case with the Pardhi, Bedia, Bachhada, Sansi and Kalbelia communities. Gadia Luhar and Nat are never suspected by the police or media because of having no criminal historical baggage, thus their image is not maligned by the media and police like the Kanjar and other communities under study.

According to the survey most of these criminal cases are against the male members of the family, who are family heads. Very few cases are against the women.

12h. Reasons for criminal cases

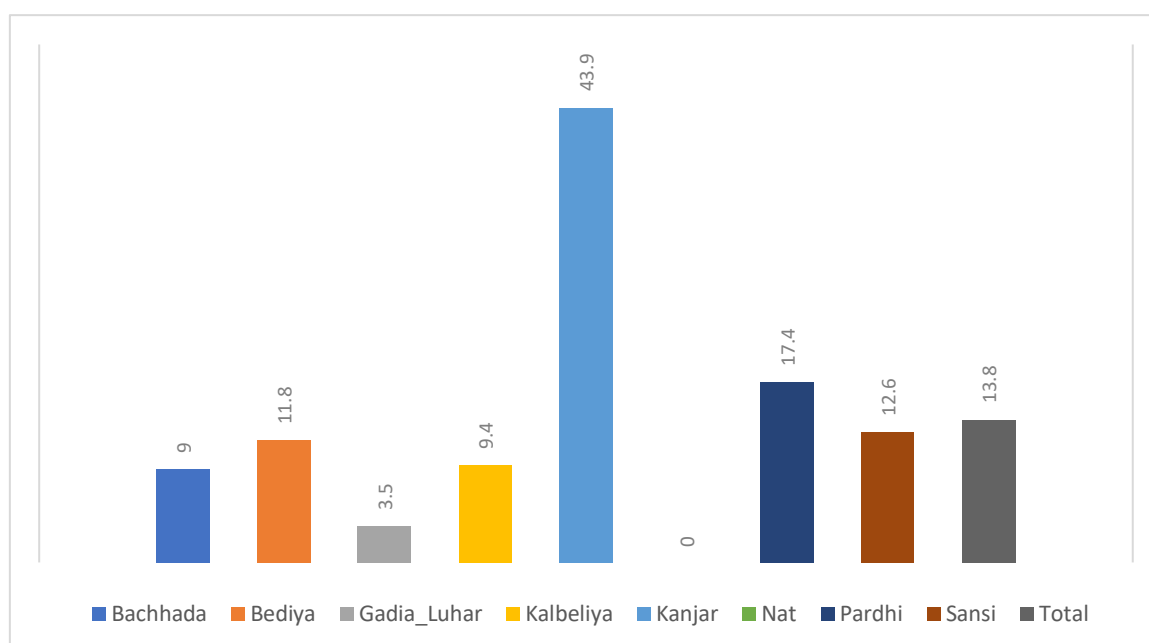
Maximum criminal cases are for making illicit liquor and disputes with the community members or outside. This is common with the Kanjar community. Since the Pardhi and Kanjar are still hunters of wild species thus they are booked in number of Wildlife Protection Act cases also. The following are some more reasons for criminal cases:

1. Accident while driving (due to alcohol consumption).
2. For making, storing and selling illicit liquor.
3. Caught in police raids and charged under the criminal activities.
4. Cases of theft and murder.
5. Dispute within the community and with others.
6. Hunting of species protected under the Wild Life Protection Act.
7. Cases related to theft of Railway property.
8. Snatching of purse and jewellery.

12i. Arrest and detention

Data shows that 314 persons (13.8%) have been detained from the total 2274 households surveyed. Among this the maximum percentage is of Kanjar (43.9%) followed by Pardhi (17.4%), Sansi (12.6%), Bedia (11.8%), Kalbelia (9.4%), Bachhada (9%), Gadia Luhar (3.5%). The percentage of arrest and detention is very high among the Kanjar as compared to other communities across the three states.

Chart 12.h - Percentage of arrests and detentions:



Note: For details see Annexure 12.8

The reasons for these arrest and detentions are:

1. Cases of making illicit liquor under the state excise and prohibition laws.
2. Cases of bribery.
3. Breach of peace and modesty.
4. Cases of theft, dacoity, murder, alcoholism, gambling and kidnapping.
5. Hunting of wildlife species.
6. Land and marriage disputes.

These detention and arrests are for a period of a few hours to a couple of years. Some of the common sections under which they are arrested are as under:

Table 12.i - Different Acts and sections under which the DNT communities are arrested, and cases filed against them.

Section No.	Description
Madhya Pradesh Excise Act, 1915 Section 34 (2)	<p>Section 34 deals with penalty for unlawful manufacture, transport, possession, sale etc. of liquor. Under Section 34(2) cases are registered against the Bachhada members when they are found in possession of more than 52 litres of country liquor. It has provision for non-bailable punishment for three months. To get bail, application can only be filed in the High Court.²⁵⁷</p> <p>The Bachhada community reasons that the Excise Department has to meet their target of registering a particular number of cases every year therefore during the raids, they slap wrong charges against many of them under this section.</p>
BOMBAY ACT No. XXV OF 1949 (The Gujarat Prohibition Act, 1949)	<p>Section 66(1)(b), 66(2), 65A (a) - Used for making illicit raw liquor, generally against the Chhara (Sansi) community of Gujarat. Section 66 (1)b & 66(2) has a provision of imprisonment from six months to two year and fine up to Rs. 2000. Section 65(a) has a provision of imprisonment for more than three years.</p> <p>Section 65A (e), 116(1), 81, 98(2) - Used for smuggling, illegal trade and holding of imported liquor. These have provision of imprisonment for up to 10 years.</p> <p>Since sale, manufacturing of illicit liquor and consumption of liquor without licence is prohibited in Gujarat, the provision of punishment in most of the above sections is up to life imprisonment plus a monetary fine depending on severity of the crime.</p>

²⁵⁷ See - <http://boardofrevenue.mp.gov.in/acts/MP-EXCISE-1915English.pdf>

<p>Rajasthan Excise Act, 1950 Section 16/54 & 19/54</p>	<p>Making of country liquor (excisable articles) and its bottling is prohibited under Section 16 of the Rajasthan Excise Act, 1950. Under Section 19 possession of excisable articles in excess of the quantity prescribed by the State Government is prohibited. Section 54 defines the penalties and punishment for the offences done under Section 16 & 19.²⁵⁸</p> <p>It is a general complaint from the Sansi, Kanjar, Bedia and Nat communities in Rajasthan that their members are booked in false cases under the above Acts. The severity of punishment depends on the quantity of the liquor captured. The DNT members claim that the police add more liquor bottles from their side to make the crime more serious, but on bribing them the quantity is reduced.</p> <p>The Excise department conducts regular raids and many innocent people found at the site of a distillery are caught which also includes children. When there are cases of people's death due to consuming of spurious liquor, raids are speeded up to capture more people (see Picture 14). In such situations women are also caught which affects children education and the income of the house, contributing to more poverty. Such cases have been noticed in village Pander of Bhilwara district of Rajasthan where out of poverty women have no other livelihood option in the village apart from making illicit liquor.</p>
<p>The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 Section 3,4,5,6,7,8</p>	<p>This act is universal across India. The sections mentioned here are used against the Bachhada, Kanjar and Bedia community found involved in prostitution by any means. Many a time these sections are used wrongly by the police during raids to get bribes from the community. Whoever is caught in the raid has to face any of these charges which depends on the investigation officer according to the offence. The punishment ranges from one year imprisonment with fine to rigorous imprisonment of up to 5 years depending upon severity of the charges. In case the person involved is found with a minor, the punishment can extend to fourteen years.</p> <p>Women and girls caught during the raids are sent to protective or corrective homes or jails.</p>
<p>Indian Penal Code Section 370, Section 372</p>	<p>Section 370 is meant for preventing women and child trafficking for the sex trade. This Act makes those women and children involved in the sex trade vulnerable to police atrocities. The Act endangers sex workers instead of protecting them from sexual exploitation. This section is also used against the Bachhada, Kanjar and Bedia members.</p> <p>Sections 372 deals with selling a minor for the purpose of prostitution. It is a non-bailable offence in which the punishment ranges up to 10 years with a fine. Under this Act members of Bachhada, Kanjar and Bedia are also held by the police. And many a time on false charges.</p>

²⁵⁸ The punishment ranges from imprisonment for six months to 3 years and fine of up to Rs. ten thousand rupees. See - https://taxboard.rajasthan.gov.in/Images/RajasthanExciseAct_13.pdf

<p>Indian Penal Code Section 379 & 380</p>	<p>This Section implies up to three years of imprisonment with a fine for theft charges. The Kanjar, Sansi, Pardhi, Bachhada and Kalbelia communities are generally charged under it. Section 378 defines the crime of theft of movable property and Section 380 defines the theft in dwelling house and its punishment.</p> <p>Both the sections are used against the above-mentioned communities. On the basis of suspicion and eye witness accounts, members from these communities are picked up and detained for a number of days illegally. They are beaten and remanded, leading to deaths many a time (see Picture 20 & 21). The rule is that a person could not be kept in custody of the police station for more than 24 hours and must be produced before the concerned Magistrate for judicial custody. To arrest the person a warrant from the Magistrates is necessary.</p> <p>Similarly, to arrest a woman she should be accompanied by her son or husband and escorted by a women constable to the police station. But these rules are not followed, women are harassed and kept in detention till late night particularly in cases of making country liquor and theft charges. According to the rule, they should be sent to the Nariniketan (women protection centre) made in selected cities.</p>
<p>Indian Penal Code Section 151</p>	<p>Under this section whoever knowingly joins or participates in any assembly of five or more persons likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace, after such an assembly has been lawfully commanded to disperse, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.</p> <p>Section 141 & 151 are used against the Nat community for creating crowd in public places during their shows. They are also harassed under the Anti-Beggary Act</p>
<p>Indian Penal Code Section 394</p>	<p>This is a cognizable non-bailable offence for robbery which pertains to a person or group voluntarily causing hurt in committing or attempting to commit robbery. This has provision for imprisonment for life or rigorous imprisonment for 10 years plus a fine as decided by the court.</p> <p>This section is generally used against the Sansi, Kajar, Pardhi, Bachhada and Kalbelia community members. During the night patrolling or in cases of theft or dacoity in the surrounding area, people of these communities are detained from their houses and booked under this section. Many a time names of innocent members are also registered which involves a huge expenditure to get them bail. The emergency expenditure listed in the household expenditure mostly refers to such expenses.</p>

<p>Indian Penal Code Section 395</p>	<p>It deals with the offence of dacoity which brings non-bailable imprisonment for life or rigorous imprisonment for 10 years plus a fine. Most of the above mentioned communities are perceived as criminal gangs by the police. Thus this section is mostly used, though the offence may be of a small nature as the charges are severe under it (see Picture 12).</p> <p>Apart from Section 394 & 395, there is Section 396 for Dacoity with murder, Section 397 for Robbery or dacoity with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt, etc. which are also used against these communities. Section 399, 400, 401 and 402 are similarly used depending on the nature of offence or attitude of the investigation police office. All these sections have rigorous imprisonment for 10 years.</p> <p>In Gujarat the Charra (Sansi) have disputes within the community and they file false cases against their own community members in this regard. Some of the Sections used in these cases also include those of IPC and POCSO. Generally POCSO Act Section 4 & 8 which relates to penetrative sexual assault and has punishment of ten years to life imprisonment is used. Similarly other sections used are - Section 354A for sexual harassment or showing pornography. Punishment ranges up to 3 years of jail and fine under it. Section 294(b) states that anyone charged with singing or reciting obscene songs, ballads or words, in or near any public place, shall be punished with imprisonment of three months with a fine. Similarly Section 114 is for abetment of any offence, if the abettor is present when the offence is committed.</p>
<p>Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 / 2018 (POCSO) Section 3 & 4</p>	<p>The act is popularly recognized as POCSO in short. Section 3 of this act deals with 'penetrative sexual assault' offense and Section 4 deals with 'punishment for penetrative sexual assault' with the minor. Under this Act there is a provision of ten years to natural life imprisonment of the person with fine defined in Section 8.</p> <p>This is one of the most strenuous Acts which is misused within the community against each other or against others for extortion of money. Police involvement in taking commission has been mentioned in such cases when the two parties mediate to compromise with monetary compensation. It is common among the Sansi and Kanjar communities. Cases are filed against the others or on members involved in the sexual harassment.</p>
<p>The Arms Act, 1959 Section 25 (3/25 - knife & 4/25 pistol)</p>	<p>This Act deals with illegal possession of arm and ammunition without license or in dealing with their trade, repair, converts, test or manufacturing. The imprisonment under this Act ranges from five to ten years and shall also be liable to fine. Section 25 & 27 are generally used against the Kanjar, Sansi, Pardhi, Kalbelia and Bachhada communities</p>
<p>CrPC Section 174 for Registration of Unnatural Death</p>	<p>Cases are filed under this section by the family of the deceased when there are cases of custodial death in police stations (see Picture 19).</p>

<p>The Prevention of Cruelty Animals Act, 1960 Section 11 and IPC Section 428 & 429</p>	<p>Section 11 of the Prevention of Cruelty Animal Act defines various cognizable and non-cognizable offences against cruelty to animals. These are generally used against the Kalbelia community members.</p> <p>Section 428 & 429 deals with mischief by killing or maiming an animal. Whoever commits mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless any animal or animals of the value of ten rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. This is also used against the Kalbelia community (for historically being snake charmers) in all the three states under study.</p>
<p>Disaster Management Act 2005</p>	<p>In the recent COVID lockdown this Act was used against the Gadia Luhar community living in Gujarat while crowding to get the ration. According to the community, Police have to register a fixed number of cases to show their performance thus they were detained wrongly in the name of the COVID protocols.</p>
<p>Section 141 in The Railways Act, 1989</p>	<p>This pertains to chain pulling in a train without any reasonable and sufficient cause. The offence is punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with a fine up to one thousand rupees or both. This is generally applied against the Pardhi and Kanjar members if found seated on the connecting pipe between the two train coaches and spotted by the RPF or GRP police.</p> <p>This offence is attached with the IPC Section no. 392 (robbery) and 395 (dacoity) for offence by the Pardhi in trains. It has been noticed from the narratives of RPF and GRP police officials that Pardhi are very tough and refuse to admit to crime. This leads to their severe physical torture and thrashing in illegal custody. Many a time they die before their family members approach the police.</p>
<p>Rajasthan Gambling Ordinance (RPGO)</p>	<p>The DNT communities found involved in gambling are caught under this Act in Rajasthan. Most of the cases are related to the Kanjar community in Kota, Bundi and Jhalawar districts. The innocent people also get caught up if they are found with the gambling group. To release the caught persons the police ask for a bribe and keep the suspect under unauthorized detention.</p>

For rehabilitation of the communities involved in making illicit liquor there is Navjeevan Yojana²⁵⁹ run by the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment of the Rajasthan state governments under which various programs of skill-development and finance facilities are provided to start cottage industries, husbandry business, cattle rearing, sewing centres, etc. Various village development programs are also undertaken under this scheme if the village belong to the particular DNT community. But no such rehabilitation scheme exists in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.

²⁵⁹ This varies from state to state. This particular reference is in context of Rajasthan

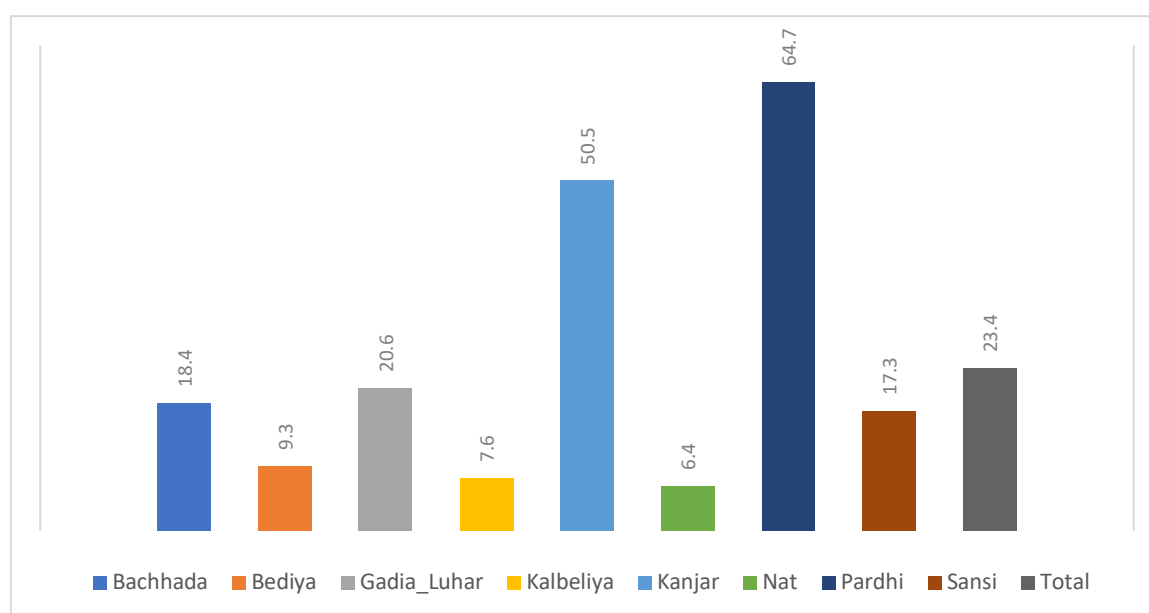
Similarly for the rehabilitation of the women involved in prostitution from Bachhada, Bedia and Sansi communities, the Government of Madhya Pradesh started Jabali Yojana for all round development of the women. Different kinds of activities are being implemented with the help of voluntary agencies, which revolve round the women/girls involved in prostitution. It relates opening of Ashram Shalas for education of children, economic programs for sex workers, IEC schemes for creation of awareness and schemes for health check-up and treatment. The scheme is funded and monitored by the Madhya Pradesh govt.

Apart from this rehabilitation homes are run by the government to provide temporary accommodation, maintenance and rehabilitative services to women and girls rendered homeless due to family discord, crime, violence, mental stress, social ostracism or on being forced into prostitution.

12j. Harassment by the police

In the survey 23.4% (532) households have reported cases of harassment by the police. As stated earlier these cases of harassment are to extort money from these community members who are illiterate and ignorant. The percentage of harassment is high among the Pardhi (64.7%) among whom the literacy level is lowest. It is followed by the Kanjar (50.5%), Bachhada (18.4%), Sansi (17.3%), Bedia (9.3%), Kalbeliya (7.6%) and Nat (6.4%). Here there are cases of harassment among the Gadia Luhar also as they put up their tents on road sides. To remove the encroachments from the prime locations, Gadia Luhar community is always a target of the police. See Chart 12.i illustrating this fact:

Chart 12.i - Harassment by the police



Note: For details see Annexure 12.9

The reasons stated for harassment by the police are:

1. Many have feared to disclose the reasons.
2. Whenever there is theft in the area, DNT people living nearby are harassed.
3. False cases for making and selling illicit liquor are enforced.
4. Police and forest officials demand partridges and rabbits to eat. If they are not given then they take away their chickens or goat. There are complaints that agents for political leaders also visit them to demand such things.
5. To keep harassing people who are involved in prostitution in the name of the investigation.
6. They enter the house anytime for interrogation disregarding the privacy and modesty of the women and minor girls.
7. Harassed by threatening to file false cases to extort bribes. For any offence committed by a person, additional names are added to extort bribes from them.
8. Caste based harassment is common.
9. False cases lodged by the police and excise department to meet yearly targets.
10. There are cases reported where the accused has committed suicide out of severe harassment. There is also physical torture to get bribes.
11. There are harassments by police to confess other's crime also.
12. When the police come for a raid, and if they are unable to catch the accused, they pick up anyone from the house.

12k. Theft and criminal charges against school and college going children

Around 19 households have stated that their children have been booked in criminal cases. It is a general practice that police detain them without registering the cases and only after taking a bribe from their families, they are released. Thus, most of them remain out of the criminal charges. It is a known fact among the police and DNT communities that if a college going youth is booked for criminal charges, it will become a hurdle during the police verification of character certificate of the applicant for government jobs or to seek a passport. Thus, to avoid arrest community members compromise with the police by paying them bribes. This is common for the Bedia, Bachhada, Pardhi, Kanjar and Sansi youths.

Most of the detentions of these youths has happened when they go to attend school, college, tuition or a marketplace. On their return to their home, they are intercepted by the police when roads are barricaded for frisking people. A general allegation by the liquor making communities is that police book their youths in false cases of carrying illicit liquor bottles. To make the charge more serious, extra bottles are added intentionally by the police. In such a situation a bribe is the only solution to get the case write-off or to dilute it.

The age of the youth charged in criminal cases in the survey ranges from 10 years (juvenile) to 22 years. Those under 18 are sent to juvenile rehabilitation homes while the adults are sent to jails.

12l. Discrimination due to the tag of criminality

Around 5.9% (134 households) have stated this fact. But in general, this discrimination happens at all levels as noticed in earlier chapters of this survey starting from school to health institutions. In case of criminality major discrimination happens on the part of the media which wrongly represents their image in society. Police take a prejudiced stand whenever any unlawful thing happens. While booking the charges more serious sections are added. Such attitude makes these communities vulnerable to find justice. Being charged with heinous crime, many members of the Pardhi, Kanjar, Sansi, Kalbelia and Bachhada languish in jails for years.

On knowing the identity of the person from the Kanjar, Sansi, Pardhi, Bedia and Bachhada community, they are not given private jobs and accommodation to live in cities. The suspicion of theft and crime disqualifies these youths from finding decent jobs.

12m. Media's perception

Various media reports (see Picture 12) both in print and digital have various news stories related to the DNTs linked with one or another crime. There is a lot of bias and prejudice attitude against these communities. Thus, for any crime the media generally presents them as criminal gangs attaching community's name. This is despite it having been prohibited by the law under the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, which particularly relates to the Dalit and Tribal communities and forbids the use of caste specific names while defining a crime. But the media continues to ignore it and the police also release press-notes where the accused are named with caste specific names. Another aspect is that the news reports are biased because a community's profile from their own perspective is never published by the media. News is collected generally from statements of the police who are biased against the DNT communities.

There is negligible representation of the DNT community in the media industry. Though having meritorious artistic skill and talents they are always represented as entertainers rather than recognizing them as artists of a higher standard. The Rai (Bedia) and Chakri (Kanjar) dancers are looked down upon as prostitutes by the audience. Thus they could never match their profile with artists of the main stream. Although Kalbelia folk songs and dances have been recognized by the UNESCO under the Intellectual Cultural Heritage²⁶⁰ category but

²⁶⁰ See - <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kalbelia-folk-songs-and-dances-of-rajasthan-00340>

whenever any crime happens in which their members are involved, the whole community is branded with criminality (see Picture 12, 13, 14, 15 & 16).

The picturization of the DNT communities in coffee-table books and photography catalogues is in the form of beggars, bards and gypsies rather than as respectable artists. There is a great divide and disparity in India between the folk/tribal and classical. The kind of high status that the classical artists have got is unmatched in comparison to the folk/tribal artists mostly represented by the DNT communities. For example, the Chakri dancers among the Kanjar community are known internationally and nationally but when it comes to the payment of remuneration, it is much less in comparison to the classical artists. Being less literate and poor they are cheated by the middlemen and tour operators who take away maximum commission, sometime even up to 75%. There is no representation of these artists in the cultural bodies of the state, thus their voice remains unheard. Even at the level of Sangeet Natak Academy, they are discriminated. The major budget is taken away by the classical artists because they have their representatives in the organizations program committees.

Films have generally represented DNT artists in a destitute manner. Learning from these films, the mainstream society also treats them accordingly. Kathputli colonies of such artists (Bhat) exists in most of the metro cities. But these colonies are slums with no basic amenities. There is no cultural policy with the government to rehabilitate them in a proper manner to preserve the country's cultural heritage which is in the hands of these communities. Thus, we see a Nayak Bhopa (DNT) begging on streets playing Rawanhatta, Nat boys and girls doing acrobatic stunts on road junctions of cities to collect money, and Kalbelia women begging on roads with their newborn children or selling balloons. The artistic talent of these communities remains unrecognized which otherwise should have earned them a decent living and honour.

12n. Behaviour of other communities

Like police and administration, the local communities living in the region are also apprehensive of the DNT members. Apart from the Gadia Luhar, the rest of the communities under survey are looked down upon by others. In this regard the following conclusions have been noted in the survey:

1. DNT communities are generally abused due to poverty, illiteracy, untouchability and criminality. These factors are source of discrimination.
2. DNTs have generally bear negative attitude of others in urban marketplaces.
3. They are called by caste specific name in abusive manner.

4. Because of the profession of prostitution, the Kanjar, Bedia and Bachhada are not allowed to settle nearby the locality of dominant communities. Their girls are looked down upon and drop out of education as they grow up.
5. Students attending schools and colleges have to face discrimination from their fellow classmates. They have to sit separately from others and cannot participate in cultural activities.
6. Knowing their identities no one gives them work or employs them.
7. They have to drink and fetch water separately from others.
8. People call them thieves, Bel Pardhi, Kanjar, Kabutra (derogatory words) in simple disputes and scowl at them. Many a time they are attacked by the dominant castes in the region for small faults (see Picture 15 & 16).

Above mentioned issues are general perception and behaviour of the people towards the DNT communities. But there are exceptions also where good relations exist. For example, in Aedalwara village of Sawai Madhopur district cordial relations exists between the Meena and Kanjar. They have been living together for generations and trust each other. Both the profession of making country liquor and prostitution is practiced by the Kanjar community in the village but Meenas never had any conflict with them. The elderly leaders of the Kanjar community are appreciated by the Meenas and respected.

12o. Ways to eradicate discrimination

There is no easy way to eradicate discrimination against the DNT communities since it is a matter of socio-cultural and historical development. To understand this one has to look into the cause for which proper understanding about the reasons of enactment of the Criminal Tribe Act 1871 and sequential listing of these communities under it has to be understood. The police officials need to be trained regarding the actual condition of these communities to eliminate prejudice among them. The artistic talent of these communities is required to be recognized and valued so that people look at them with respect. In education, at the school level, measures should be taken so that DNT children get equal opportunity and are not discriminated due to their caste or profession. It is the duty of teacher to nurture constitutional values among the students. The Human Rights Commission also need to review cases of harassment, detention and arrest cases in Police stations. Media needs to be sensitive for caste-based news and not to malign the image of DNT communities.

As many of the DNT communities have given up their traditional professions due to the enactment of various laws, rehabilitation of these communities with appropriate skill-development programs and training institutions should be started in their own region. Banks and financial institutions should fund their enterprises and small businesses. Many among the DNT community are talented in hand skills and crafts. Those resources should be

explored to provide new opportunities for them in the mushrooming craft industry. The suggestions which have come from the DNT community members for eradication of discrimination are listed below:

1. Some of the members have suggested that unless they give up prostitution, theft, making of illicit liquor, and hunting of wild species they will always find themselves in trouble. Thus, the new generation should abandon these activities and find respectable jobs.
2. Education is a major subject which could eradicate their backwardness and discrimination.
3. They feel that the film industry and cultural institutions should give them a chance to showcase their talent.
4. Within the community there should be harmony and unity.
5. Some have asked for career guidance and government jobs for the youth.
6. Many feel that if they get into higher posts like in the civil services, the attitude of other communities towards them will change.
7. Similarly, they have aspirations for becoming politicians to represent their community in policy making.
8. Those who do not fall in the reservation category have demanded reservation for their communities too.
9. Some have demanded loans for their business which could improve their social status and financial condition.
10. Many want to make their position in sports.
11. There is also a demand for legalization of their practice of making country liquor. Community wants that it should be made part of the cottage industry.

Apart from this, many DNT community members have said that they do not face any discrimination. This is generally the case when their village/locality has a good relationship with the neighbouring villages.

12p. Cases of suicide in the family due to social, political, financial issues or police atrocities

The households have hidden this information due to fear. Most have said that no such cases have happened in their community. Total nine cases have been reported among the total 2274 households in which family members have hanged themselves due to family disputes (see Picture 20).²⁶¹ Such cases are high among the Pardhi community due to distress.

²⁶¹ <https://thewire.in/politics/polices-continued-victimisation-denotified-tribal-communities-can-no-longer-go-unchallenged>

12q. Internal conflict within the community

Internal conflicts in the community are common among the DNT communities related to the land issues, debts, marriage breakups, elopements with others and professional rivalry. Such disputes are generally settled by the caste Panchayat who take commission to settle the cases which leads to indebtedness. In recent time it has been noticed that after failing in the caste Panchayats the conflict reaches the courts. This results in heavy expenditure, long delays for judgements and tension among the parties. Some of the major matters of conflict are listed below:

1. Cases relating to child marriages which break-up when the time comes for the married couple to live together. The preferences of the grown-up children change, and this leads to dispute among the two families. Such cases are mostly settled by the caste Panchayat which decides the compensation. It leads to indebtedness and distress.
2. Cases of money borrowing - when the person who has borrowed the money is not willing to return the money with the compromised interest rate.
3. There is a custom of virginity test of the girl among the Sansi community (Gujarat). This leads to many disputes and breakup after marriages.
4. Divorce due to dowry cases leads to conflict between the families.
5. Land and property disputes within the community members.
6. Jealousy due to difference in economic status, diverse political views and professional status are also reasons for differences.
7. Abusive fights after getting drunk are regular episodes among the Kanjar and Sansi community.

All these factors keep the community divided. Thus, they are exploited by the lawyers, community Panch (leaders) and police. The community has proposed that these issues will only be settled when they get education and find better livelihood.

12r. Impact on the community of internal conflicts

All the above conflicts within the community have a negative impact on the growth of the young generation. They get exposed to physical abuse, harassment, torture, and psychological pressure at an early age. This builds a lot of negativities among them. It leads to poverty due to indebtedness, family fractions, subject of outcaste by the Panchayat, gender bias, etc. Under depression cases of drunkenness and addiction increase, leading to further conflicts. It affects the education of young children; parents are also not able to focus on them.

9p Socio-political movement in the community

There are a few initiatives meant for socio-political development of the community. These are started by some of the educated and socially aware persons of the community. They have formed social organizations to represent issues of their community. Some of them are also registered organizations. A few to mention are as under:

Table 12.ii - Community based organizations formed by the DNT communities:

Sr. No.	Name of the organization	Place	Community
1	Rajasthan Kanipavnath Kalbelia Samaj Kalyan Samiti	Udaipur, Raj.	Kalbelia
2	Ghumantu, Ardhgumantu Janjati Parishad	Bhilwara, Raj.	All DNT communities
3	Mahashakti Kanjar Sudhar Utthan Samiti Shankarpura	Bundi, Raj.	Kanjar
4	Kanjar Samajh Sudhar Sansthan	Sawai Madhopur	Kanjar
5	Rajasthan Gadia Luhar Yuva Vikas Sansthan	Pushkar, Raj.	Gadia Luhar
6	Bhudan Theatre	Ahmedabad, Gujarat	All DNT communities
7	Naya Jeevan Gyan Prachar Seva Samiti	Nimach	Bachhada, Bedia
8	Abha Samajik Chetna Samiti	Nimach	Bachhada
9	Nirmal Jyoti Education and Charitable Society	Mandsaur	Bachhada
10	Manjal Sansthan	Bhopal, MP	Pardhi
11	Pardhi Vikas Samiti	Mundikhedi, MP	Pardhi
12	Kanjar Yuva Samiti	Pander, Rajasthan	Kanjar & Sansi
13	Bhoomi Gramotthan Evam Shabhagi Gramin Vikas Samiti	Morena, MP	Bedia
14	Kanjar Samaj Seva Sudhar Samiti	Berasiya, MP	Kanjar
15	Last Wilderness Foundation (NGO)	Mumbai	Pardhi

Apart from this there are few NGOs who have been working for development of these communities. The five organizations who have supervised this survey are the major ones which have close networking with the community members, do various development works for them, and represent their issues nationally and internationally.

Personal observations made by the surveyors and recommendations from the DNT communities under survey:

Table 12.iii - Observations of the locations and communities under study, their suggestions:

Location	State	Observations
BACHHADA		
Hadi Pipalya, Bardiya, Kheda, etc.	MP	At most of the places, caste-based work (prostitution) is being practiced. Requirement to take up education programs for the youth.
Barkheda Dera	MP	Caste discrimination in school among the children.
Khunti Dera	MP	High dowry price of up to Rs. 10 Lakh has been reported. Thus girls enter into prostitution as their parents cannot find such amount for their marriage. There is a demand for jobs from the community to get out of the profession of prostitution.
Ratitalai Dera	MP	Not receiving benefits from the government schemes as officials ask for bribes. Community has demanded for a separate reservation.
Mohalla Ratitalai	MP	Due to joblessness, cases of depression have been reported among the youth (male members).
Sinkhedi New Settlement	MP	Regular police harassment reported. Cases of taking bribes by the police exists.
Palyamaaru New settlement Dera	MP	When cases of theft happen nearby, community members are implicated by the police. Community members do not get rooms in a hotel due to their community identity. They are not getting benefits of PMAY-G for housing. There is no community crematorium in the village.
Ratitalai Dera, Khunti Dera & Moyakheda	MP	Errors in the Ration Card because after marriage, name of the newly married woman are not included.
Khunti Dera	MP	Absence of land ownership documents.
Moyakheda New settlement	MP	Demand for a separate quota in ST reserved category and government jobs under reservation. Govt. officials ask for bribes to make them beneficiaries under the welfare schemes.
Semaliya New Settlement	MP	People fear to disclose police atrocities and cases of bribery.
Sinkhedi New Settlement	MP	To stop prostitution people should be given govt. jobs. Demand for awareness programs.
Dodiyamina New Settlement	MP	Not getting ration through PDS. People live in huts or tents, not getting grant under the PMAY. If youth is educated well and given jobs, prostitution will stop.
Manankheda Settlement (Dera), Mandsaur	MP	Has demanded separate reservation quota for recruitment into government jobs.

BEDIA		
Sagar	MP	There are factions among the community members. Boys who try to earn on their own are harassed by outsiders (people outside the community) reasoning that if girls are earning then what is the need for boys to exert themselves.
Sadak ka Pura, Muraina	MP	Due to poor education in Govt. school, children have to go to private schools.
Roshanpura, Bhopal	MP	No road connectivity, lack of 108 Ambulance service, no separate cremation ground and drinking water connection. People have to walk 4 km on foot to reach the main road.
Luhari, Sagar	MP	Community is badly affected by poverty; women go for Rai dance. Conflict among community people exists. There is no water supply and approachable road connecting the village.
Pardhi Tola, Bhopal	MP	There is no approachable road for 2 Km and no water supply.
GADIA LUHAR		
Gadia Luhar Basti, Mandsaur	MP	Lack of citizenship documents. No RCC road or drainage facility. Community demand for inclusion in ST category. Community lives in huts, thus require grant under PMAY to build concrete houses.
Bodal, Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	The community has to migrate to other districts and states to work as wage labour. Cannot pay attention to children's education due to regular migration. Have demanded land to settle down and educate their children.
Luhariya Basti, Bombay Yojna Colony, Kota	Rajasthan	The community lives in tents made of tarpaulin. Since they are displaced away from the city they feel deprived of education, health and employment. Have made a demand for cottage industry to use their hand skills.
Gadia Luhar Settlement, Bundi	Rajasthan	Do not have basic amenities like Anganwadi, electricity connection, housing, drainage, etc. The community frequently migrate to find livelihood.
Vijoripura, Bundi	Rajasthan	No water supply, electricity, crematorium ground and caste certificates exist.
Dudhnath Mahadev Ni Chali, Ahmedabad	Gujarat	The Community is very reserved and conceals information. They have many complaints regarding the government.
KALBELIA		
Hariya Kheda	MP	People in the community go for begging. They are harassed and punished by the police.
Raghunathgadh	MP	Earlier their men used to make grinding stone and collect snake poison. Presently they are all jobless. People live in <i>kuchha</i> house with no facility for drinking water. Children beg in villages. Elder members of the community have become jobless since the ban on snake charming. Generally men go for labour work, women go for begging, children are taken care of by grandmother. Most of the children are going to school.

Surjana	MP	Landless Kalbelia community is living in <i>kuchha</i> houses. Parents go for work and children are not supervised by anyone thus play around in the <i>basti</i> . Cases of child marriage, child labour and high illiteracy rate has been reported from here.
Mamadev	MP	Most of the men are drunk at night.
Khor	MP	Apart from Aadhar card they don't have any other documents. Father and mother go for work, children graze goats and do not attend school. Child marriage is common.
Kalbelia Settlement Gaushala Naga	Rajasthan	Cases of harassment by the police are reported.
Kalbelia Settlement Bundi	Rajasthan	Living on government land, fear of being removed by the police.
Dalelpura	Rajasthan	Living on forest land, fear of displacement as notices have been given multiple times.
Vorda, Bundi	Rajasthan	Community living on government land, people are not getting pension, most of the children are dropped out of school.
Sihana, Bundi	Rajasthan	Most of the families have settled on government land, live in poverty, widows are not getting pension, children do not attend school.
Abhoda, Bundi	Rajasthan	Living on government land they fear displacement, people are unemployed and collect scrap.
Shayopuriya, Bundi	Rajasthan	Living on forest department land. Face discrimination from other communities. Lives under pressure of displacement, unemployment is a major issue.
Kalbelia Basti, Bundi	Rajasthan	Not even 10% people in the location are educated. Have demanded separate reservation within the SC category.
Talera Bypass, Bundi	Rajasthan	Community living on government land with no basic facilities. Unemployment is a major issue.
Khatkhad Chauraha, Bundi	Rajasthan	Being living on forest land, community is not getting benefits of government welfare schemes.
KANJAR		
Dhani Ramgarh, Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	Community is financially poor. They are secretive and do not disclose much information due to their profession of making liquor and prostitution. Police take bribes when they are caught with liquor bottles. Problems of obtaining caste certificates exist. Demand for a separate reservation quota.
Mesauda, Bhopal	MP	Demand for water supply connection and road connectivity. In case of theft in the region, other caste villagers gather to beat them.
Thekpur Vijoripura, Bhopal		No road connectivity to the village. Thus in case of emergency, Ambulance 108 service is not available. People are unaware of welfare schemes. Caste discrimination by the school-teachers has been noticed by the parents.

Laxminagar, Guna	MP	Police permission is required to be sought in advance when women go out for Chakri dance among the patrons.
Shankarpura, Bundi	Rajasthan	Poverty and illiteracy are high. Demand for education, livelihood and skill-based centers for the community. Since prostitution is practiced here there is a demand for girl's education. The overall literacy is low. When girls go outside to study, they are looked down upon by others. Some members feel that their caste Panchayat should be banned. Cases of child marriage exist. There is a demand for residential hostels for the community children to study outside the village to avoid the negative environment of their village. Health program for adolescent girls and boys is required. Superstitions, wrong ritual practices, ignorance, gender discrimination are high. There is also a demand for housing and employment.
Nai Hedi, Sihor	MP	Demand for hospital in the village.
Saakonya vejarpura, Guna	MP	In case of disputes with other communities they arrive with guns to fear their people. Demand coaching facility for children. People are wrongly blamed for any thefts in the region.
Karariya Vijoripura, Bhopal	MP	No water supply to drink and wash clothes.
Nai Hedi, Sihor	MP	Discrimination in water collection exists as other higher caste people live in their neighbourhood.
Ramnagar, Bundi	Rajasthan	The community has given up theft and children are studying in schools. Has demanded reformative schemes for the community and separate community hostels for their children.
Shankar Colony, Baran	Rajasthan	The community is famous for Chakri dance. Women go to perform across the country including their local patrons during the marriage season. But before going out they have to take permission of the local police station. Thus the community has demanded a permanent license for their free movement to perform anywhere. Girls drop out of schools early to attend dance programs. Caste based discrimination exists. If the community youth want to go out to study no one give them accommodation to stay. Community has also demanded medical facility. Good sportsmen in the village exists who if promoted could perform at state and national level, particularly in cricket.
Vijoripura, Bhopal	MP	No caste certificate exists in whole of the village. There is no road, Anganwadi and crematorium for the community.
Laxmipura Khatoli	Baran	There is no road, Anganwadi facility in the village. People have to buy water through tankers @ Rs. 300 per tanker. Have demanded school till class 12th standard with hostel facility.
NAT		
Chilriya, Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	The community hides the information, both prostitution and making of country liquor exists, women trafficking exists. Police raid their village regularly.

Ghode Wale Baba, Nat Basti, Kota	Rajasthan	The community lives in a slum near the boundary wall of Aerodrome. Thus, fear of displacement always exists. Women do house cleaning work. No facility of Anganwadi, PHC, CHC, exists in the vicinity. Children collect plastic and do not attend school. Have demanded education facility for the children.
Devpura, Bundi	Rajasthan	The Nat from surrounding villages have put up their small shops displaying their drums. The community lives on empty plots or waste land in Bundi city. Women go for begging; attention is not given to children who roam around with other kids.
PARDHI		
Ganga Thana, Bhopal	MP	There is no government drinking water supply, road and crematorium for the community. People do not have caste certificates.
Pardhi Settlement, Ruhana Jod, Bhopal	MP	There is no Anganwadi, road, drainage, water supply and caste certificates with people. In the past people have died because Ambulance 108 couldn't reach them on time. People have demanded crematorium for the community.
Ahesasnagar, Bhopal	MP	Children are not interested to attend school. School exists at a far distance.
SANSI		
Charanagar, Ahmedabad	Gujarat	There are talented artists in the community, like Nilesh who is a good painter. If people like him are provided resources, they can perform better. Community members are interested in private jobs, they are doing various kind of works and small businesses to earn their livelihood. The community is worried about their girl's education. Community is financially poor, and many are under debts. Demanded for permission to legalize their profession of country liquor making and make it part of the cottage industry. There are many talented artists in the community who have etched their image on international level like Dakxin Chhara. Budhan Theatre has been doing commendable work in the community to represent their issues in media and before the government.
Sanshi Basti	Tonk	Demand for separate reservation within the SC category, Nav Jeevan Yojana for rehabilitation, and welfare schemes for the village like beekeeping, poultry, fishing, soap making, candle and pencil making, rug making, etc. which can lead to improvement of their life, employment and education. There is less focus on girl's education. Due to bad reputation of the community no one wants to employ them.
Kotadi Sansi Basti, Bhilwara	Rajasthan	Demand for coaching facility for education, vocational training, cottage industry, literacy program, business opportunities. Have demanded end to the caste Panchayat and social evils.
Sansi Settlement Alipura, Tonk	Rajasthan	Demanded educational coaching facility for drop-out children.
Sansi Basti, Tonk	Rajasthan	Demanded implementation of Navjeevan Yojana for upliftment of the household involved in the illicit liquor making.

Bhildada Sansivas, Dahod	Gujarat	The income of the community is good but they haven't disclosed it in the survey. Fear of the government.
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CONCLUSION

The first two chapters of the report focusing on the cultural and legal history of the DNT communities presents a contrasting view about them in different time spaces. Just before the arrival of the British, DNTs had an ethically well-placed socio-economic position in the Indian society. Due to their proficient life skills, professional services, indigenous knowledge, and warrior nature they were respected, and their skills considered merit-worthy. The sedentary mainstream communities were dependent on their services. Similar was the history of the Adivasi communities in India who had regional sovereign powers until the arrival of East India Company in 1757. As the East India Company consolidated itself politically and later was taken over by the British Government post the First War of Independence in 1857, the exploitation of natural resources started which affected forest-dwelling tribal communities. To control the nomadic tribes, the colonial government instituted laws to criminalize them and then herd them into settlement camps which were under constant surveillance. Most of these 'wandering tribes' were out of the revenue network of the British administration due to their nomadism. The settlement camps made under the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) 1871 led to positioning them permanently in a social structure and bringing them under the cover of revenue. After being listed as Criminal Tribes, they were forced to do hard labour in cottage industries, agriculture, road and rail construction projects of the Government. The British took the rehabilitation and civilizing of these communities as their moral responsibility.²⁶²

Due to a lack of in-depth understanding about the complex nature of the Indian caste system, the British misunderstood the important 'socio-environmental' role played by the various wandering tribes and forest communities in the eco-system and branded them as hereditary criminals, dacoits, thugs, and spies. This changed the whole perspective of the mainstream Indian society, who began to look at these communities in a dismissive manner. The

²⁶² Members of the Salvation Army were given charge of the settlement camps.

discrimination that originated out of these conditions forced the DNTs to live a miserable life which continues till today.

The major drawback with the DNT communities is the lack of united strength to voice their pressing demands. On the other hand, the Dalits and Adivasis in India have been able to assert their demands through a largely united front and an awareness of their constitutional rights. The fragile and scattered DNT communities have failed to make any impact on successive governments even after institution of various Commissions and Committees to look into and find solutions for DNT issues. The important recommendations made by these Commissions and Committees which might have improved their life were never heard and remain in closed files gathering dust. DNTs are devoid of any separate political reservation to send their representatives in the state legislative assemblies and Parliament. Thus, the 12-15 crore (10% of the total Indian population) DNT population of India still remain invisible and continue to suffer after 75 years of India's Independence.

Dr. Ganesh Devy has described the condition of the DNTs after being freed as, '...non-persons drowned in the dung heap of scorn, contempt, atrocity, and utter poverty'.²⁶³ Presently DNTs are marked by discrimination, casteism, police atrocities, stigma of criminality, mob lynching, poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance; both by the state and the society. This report presents the hopeless situation of these communities in the three states under study. But similar is the situation of their counterparts in the rest of the country. Therefore, this report opens an argument on how India would be able to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations by 2030 AD when all the current human development parameters among the DNTs are much below the average.

This report has placed its finding in comparison to the national and state figures. It shows that the citizenship rights and entitlement schemes may be in place, but the DNTs are not able to avail their benefits for being differently categorised and for lack of documents. The discrimination by the local representatives and government officials further add to their hardship. In the Survey it has been discovered that 22.8% DNT members do not have Birth Certificates; 20.2% needy families living below the poverty line do not have Ration Cards, many among them remain in a condition of continuous migration thus they are not able to avail the benefits of food security rights. The new system of issuing food ration through Electronic Point of Sale (ePOS) enabled Fair Price Shops (FPS) is disqualifying many among them from availing the benefits due to them as there is failure of internet network in remote areas. There is also a lack of digital literacy, mismatch of information on the several ID documents is present (see Picture 7 to 10). Our Survey shows that 76% of the expenditure

²⁶³ GN Devy, *"Indelible Stain - India and its Denotified Tribes,"* The Telegraph, Calcutta, Published on 07.08.2020.

among the DNTs is on food. In such a situation proper allotment of Ration Cards, online registration²⁶⁴ and regular distribution of ration is crucial to support their life.

The discrimination of the DNTs by the dominant castes and panchayat officials leads to denial of various benefits that should be constitutionally available to them in rural areas. Due to this, 44.2% among them have no job cards, and even when 80% families among them earn below Rs. 1 lakh per annum only 48.3% have BPL cards. Very few are covered under the health insurance schemes. They hesitate to visit the government medical facilities due to negative and indifferent behaviour of the health staff. To avail benefits of the affirmative schemes meant for education and employment, the youth among the DNTs are also being denied caste certificates. They are asked for old revenue documents and of domicile certification which many among them do not have. Due to lack of such documents, 63.4% eligible aged members are not able to avail pension benefits. These findings also show that DNTs are often themselves ignorant of their basic rights.

The casteism factor is very strong, particularly in rural areas. DNT children attending neighbourhood government schools drop out early as they often face various levels of discrimination from teachers; equally from fellow students and villagers. Literacy rate among the DNTs stand to only 47% which is much less than the national average literacy rate of 77.7%.²⁶⁵ Less than 2% children reach university level education and less than 0.2% are able to find government jobs. Having little access to appropriate employment, many among the DNT communities are compelled to practice hunting, country liquor making, prostitution, thefts, rag picking and beggary. These push them into the circle of crimes that they often find difficult to break, making the lives of their women and children vulnerable.

Many villages and localities of the DNTs are always on the radar of the police where midnight raids are conducted. DNT members are picked up, beaten up in illegal detentions, sometimes causing custodial deaths, and mental torture to the families. Such cases are high among the Kanjar, Sansi and Pardhi communities. The caste Panchayats are another reason for exploitation of their own community members leading to their indebtedness due to which their girls are pushed into prostitution (see Picture 36). It has come into light in this survey that due to utter poverty, Gadia Luhar women are often forced into prostitution. This is a new development which needs immediate intervention for rehabilitation of the Gadia Luhar community, particularly those living in the urban centres. The state-run rehabilitation schemes need to be reviewed and upgraded to provide practical assistance rather than completing formalities of spending the budget. Cases of gender disparities exist for which intervention of the national and state women commissions is required.

²⁶⁴ This is a new addition after implementation of 'One Nation one Ration Card Yojna' by the Central Govt.

²⁶⁵ National Literacy rate for the year 2017-18

For rehabilitation and development of the DNTs, a comprehensive and strategic plan is urgently required. The recommendations of the two NSDNT commissions, Planning Commission, National Human Rights Commission and Niti Aayog need to be put into action with proper allocation of budget. A proper amelioration of their numbers and locations should be initiated in absence of the caste census.²⁶⁶ Repeal of the HOA is the foremost need of the hour to check police atrocities. For effectiveness of the reservation policy, sub-categories for DNTs within the established reservation categories should be considered. This will require amendments in Articles 341 and 342 (for SC & ST) and 340 (for OBC). Since there is no political representation from the DNT communities at the national level, in such a situation it becomes an important duty of the Development and Welfare Board for the Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities to actively participate in the development of the DNTs and keep knocking at the door of the Parliament for policy formation in their favour. The DNT communities are also required to work towards creating a united voice.

Apart from recounting the relatively depressing situation of the DNTs, the survey has discovered many positive hopes among them. The next phase of the project is intended to focus on these positive aspects to eliminate socio-economic backwardness, stigma, discrimination, and disparities. To quote Martin Luther King Jr., 'Out of the mountain of despair, a stone of hope always exists ...' With that it is hope that this report will contribute to voice the DNT problems and find solutions to them.

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²⁶⁶ The last Caste Census was in 1931 AD.

ANNEXURES

Annexure 1.1 - According to the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee Report (1949-1950) chaired by Ananthasayanam Ayyangar below is the list of denotified tribes in the states under study of this project.¹ This list is according to the year 1949-50 when the Committee was reviewing the status of the DNTs in different states. Many communities were already denotified in different places by the local states before this period, thus they are not listed in it:

Sr. No.	Community	Districts (during 1949-50 AD)
Rajasthan		
1	Bagris (Bawaris)	Jodhpur
2	Banjaras	Udaipur
3	Baories	Jodhpur, Ajmer, Udaipur, Jaipur and Kotah
4	Bhats	Jodhpur
5	Bhils	Jodhpur (Jalore and Pali districts)
6	Kanjars	Udaipur, Ajmer, Jaipur and Kotah
7	Minas	Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur
8	Mogias	Udaipur and Chittor
9	Multanis	Udaipur and Bhilwara
10	Naiks	Jodhpur
11	Nuts (Nats)	Jodhpur and Bikaner
12	Sansis	Jodhpur, Ajmer, Udaipur, Jaipur and Kotah
Madhya Pradesh		
1	Bairagis	In the whole of Bhopal state
2	Banchhada	Dhar, Sitamau, Dewas Sr. and Indore
3	Banjara	In whole of the Madhyabharat state except Piploda, Jobat and Mathwar districts.
4	Bauriah, Bawaria, Mogia	In Madhya Bharat
5	Berias	In the state of Vindhya Pradesh
6	Bhanmate	Dewas Sr.
7	Bijoria (or Kanjar)	In the whole of Bhopal state
8	Chandravedias	In the state of Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal state
9	Kanjars	In the state of Vindhya Pradesh. Panth-Piploda, Barwani, Dhar, Ratlam, Jaora, Dewas Jr., Indore and Gwalior.
10	Mohgia, Moghia	In the whole of Bhopal state. In the whole of Madhya Bharat state except Barwani, Jobat, Kathiwar, Mathwar, Dewas Jr. and Narsingharh.
11	Pasis	In the state of Vindhya Pradesh
12	Pardhi or Nirshikaris	In whole of Madhya Bharat
13	Nat	In the state of Vindhya Pradesh ²
14	Sanoria	In the whole of Bhopal state
15	Sansi	In the whole of Bhopal state. Rajgarh, Dewas Sr., Dewas Jr. and Gwalior.

¹ The regions mentioned in the table are defined in the map below.

² Vindhya Pradesh was a former state of India with its capital at Rewa. Presently it lay between Uttar Pradesh to the north and Madhya Pradesh to the south.

Annexure 1.3 - List of DNT Settlement Camps under the CTA during the time of Independence. The present survey has also taken place at these locations.

Sr. No.	Settlement	District	Community
Rajasthan³			
1	Ramnagar	Bundi	Kanjar
2	Dablana	Bundi	Kanjar
3	Poliada	Tonk	Sansi
4	Pander	Bhilwara	Kanjar and Sansi
Madhya Pradesh⁴			
1	Sonkatch, Berasia	Bhopal	Kanjar
2	Devalkhera, Berasia	Bhopal	Kanjar ⁵
Gujarat			
1	Charanagar	Ahmedabad	Sansi (Chara)

³ The colonies for Criminal Tribes in the Rajasthan State are established under the provision of the local law corresponding to section 11 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924.

⁴ Established under the provisions of the local law corresponding to section 11 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924.

⁵ Now shifted to different locations in Bhopal district.

SURVEY LOCATIONS

Annexure 2.1 - Survey locations, participating organizations, surveyors, communities and spread of questionnaires on them.

Sr. No.	Name of the location surveyed	Tehsil	District	State	Participant organization	Name of the Surveyor	No. of Questionnaire	Community
1	Shankarpura	Hindoli	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	120	Kanjar
2	Ramnagar	Bundi	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Hemraj & Ram Lakshman	43	Kanjar
3	Near Gas Gowdown, Mantunda Rd.	Bundi	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	49	Gadia Luhar
4	Ganesh Bagh, Devpura	Bundi	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	28	Nat
5	Dalelpura, Nainwa Road	Bundi	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj	25	Kalbelia
6	Baman Gaon & Nainwa Town	Nainwa	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj	30	Kalbelia
7	Dei, Lalganj	Nainwa	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj		Kalbelia
8	Rain Farm & Bhawani Pura	Hindoli	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj	15	Kalbelia
9	Khatkhar, Shyopuriya, Baldeopura-ki-Jhonpadiya, Shiv Shakti Ka Kheda, Kuanrti, Kothya and Talera	Bundi	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj	25	Kalbelia
10	Borda, Akoda, Siyana	Hindoli	Bundi	Rajasthan	KHS	Dhanraj	15	Kalbelia
11	Ghode Wale Baba Chauraha	Kota	Kota	Rajasthan	KHS	Ram Lakshman, Bachanram & Piyush	37	Gadia Luhar
12	Nat Basti, Nr. Ghode Wale Baba Chauraha	Kota	Kota	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram (Piyush-2)	61	Nat
13	Pander	Jahajpur	Bhilwara	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	22	Sansi
14	Phalasiya	Jahajpur	Bhilwara	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	20	Sansi
15	Sansi Basti, Nr. Kotri Chauraha	Kotri	Bhilwara	Rajasthan	KHS	Bachanram	20	Sansi
16	Khori	Hujur	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Lakhan Nath	111	Kalbelia
17	Shankar colony	Chhabra	Baran	Rajasthan	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	50	Kanjar
18	Sakonya	Raghogarh	Guna	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram		Kanjar
19	Bhanpura	Chachaura	Guna	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram		Kanjar
20	Lakshmi Nagar	Chhabra	Baran	Rajasthan	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	31	Sansi
21	Runaha	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	50	Pardhi
22	Ehsaan Nagar, Bairagarh	Bhopal City	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Udit	37	Pardhi

23	Gandhi Nagar, Fanda	Bhopal City	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Pawar	20	Pardhi
24	Ganga Dhaba, Vidhisha Rd.	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	50	Pardhi
25	Kadhiya Kalan, Vidhisha Rd.	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram		Pardhi
26	Unida	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	50	Pardhi
27	Nagar Palika	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	34	Gadia Luhar
28	Dekpur, Sonkatch, Karariya	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram	43	Kanjar
29	Pathariya, Habla	Rahatgarh	Sagar	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Kiran	83	Bedia
30	Luhari	Sagar	Sagar	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Kiran		Bedia
31	Kolukheddi	Berasiya	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Vijay Ram		Bedia
32	Bhopal	Bhopal	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Kiran	48	Bedia
33	Pathari	Raisen	Raisen	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Kiran		Bedia
34	Raisen City	Raisen	Raisen	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Kiran		Bedia
35	Panchgaon, Tagawali, Pharakpur, Adarsh Nagar, Sundar Colony, Bara	Dholpur	Dholpur	Rajasthan	Muskaan	Renu	60	Bedia
36	Sadak-ka-Pura, Padit Vihar Colony, Chatri-Ka-Pura	Morena	Morena	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Renu		Bedia
37	Taal-ka-Pura, Chandokhar, Karsedi, Kushal-Ka-Pura	Porsa	Morena	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Renu		Bedia
38	Vitta-ka-Pura, Ambha town, Gareeb-Ka-Pura, Sirmati	Ambha	Morena	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Renu	100	Bedia
39	Babripura, Ranpur	Ambha	Morena	Madhya Pradesh	Muskaan	Renu		Bedia
40	Bodal, Phalaudi, Sawai Madhopur	Sawai Madhopur	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Meera Gadia Luhar	120	Gadia Luhar
41	Chauth Ka Barwara	Chauth Ka Barwara	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Meera Gadia Luhar		Gadia Luhar
42	Allapur, Chhan, Baharawanda, Khandar, Gothra	Khandar	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Meera Gadia Luhar		Gadia Luhar
43	Malarna Doongar	Malarna Doongar	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Meera Gadia Luhar		Gadia Luhar
44	Chauth Ka Barwara	Chauth Ka Barwara	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Vikas Tailor	44	Kanjar

45	Dani Ramgadh, Adalwara	Chauth Ka Barwara	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Hans Raj Kanjari	35	Kanjari
46	Shiwar, Kanwarapura, Chileriya. Jhopra	Chauth Ka Barwara	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Mohit Kumar	25	Nat
47	Natwara	Niwai	Sawai Madhopur	Rajasthan	GSK	Mohit Kumar		Nat
48	Chharanagar	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	50	Sansi
49	Dudhnath Mahadev Ni Chali, Vadaaj	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	100	Gadia Luhari
50	Nat Ni Khada Wali Chali, Vadaaj	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Siddharth Garange	50	Nat
51	Nat Vaas, Chandkheda	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	60	Nat
52	Madari Na Chhapra, Ramol	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	50	Kalbelia
53	Santoshi Nagar	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Siddharth Garange	25	Sansi
54	Sarvoday Nagar	Modasa	Aravalli	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	25	Sansi
55	Jivanpur (Chharanagar)	Jivanpur	Aravalli	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	25	Sansi
56	Sansi Basti	Dahod	Dahod	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	50	Sansi
57	Janta colony, Kothamba	Lunawada	Mahisagar	Gujarat	Budhan Theatre	Anish Garange	62	Kalbelia
58	Hadipilya	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	49	Bachhada
59	Bardiya	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	4	Bachhada
60	Kishanpura	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	7	Bachhada
61	Nayagaon	Javad	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	1	Bachhada
62	Bhandya	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	9	Bachhada
63	Kadiantri	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	9	Bachhada
64	Pawti	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	3	Bachhada
65	Lasudiya Antri	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	3	Bachhada
66	Barkheda	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	5	Bachhada
67	Moya	Manasa	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	4	Bachhada
68	Khatyakhedi	Neemach	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	13	Bachhada
69	Depalpura	Jawad	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	2	Bachhada
70	Chadoli	Neemach	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	10	Bachhada

71	Borkhedi Kala	Neemach	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	20	Bachhada
72	Sakar Gram	Neemach	Neemach	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	2	Bachhada
73	Murli Dhaba	Malhargarh	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	1	Bachhada
74	Changeri	Malhargarh	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Vishal Malviya	2	Bachhada
75	Sikhedi	Mandsaur	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	24	Bachhada
76	Udpura	Mandsaur	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	6	Bachhada
77	Kolwa	Mandsaur	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	1	Bachhada
78	Dodiyamina	Mandsaur	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	6	Bachhada
79	Palya Maru	Mandsaur	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	18	Bachhada
80	Rati Talai	Malhargarh	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	14	Bachhada
81	Khunti	Malhargarh	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	12	Bachhada
82	Banikhedi	Daloda	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	5	Bachhada
83	Chhoti Nirdhari	Daloda	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	4	Bachhada
84	Moya Kheda	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	10	Bachhada
85	Hanumantya	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	3	Bachhada
86	Semliya	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	1	Bachhada
87	Chiklana	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	9	Bachhada
88	Manan Kheda	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	12	Bachhada
89	Piplodhi	Jaora	Ratlam	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	2	Bachhada
90	Daloda	Daloda	Mandsaur	Madhya Pradesh	Jan Sahas	Deepak Bhati	5	Gadia Luhar
						Total	2274	

Note: As many of the locations have been grouped together above, the total survey locations stand to 133 (see Map) covered in the three states by the 19 surveyors listed above.

Annexure 2.2 - Distribution of community by place of residence (Total)

Place of residence	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural (N)	278	216	143	230	314	43	142	74
Rural (%)	19.31	15	9.93	15.97	21.81	2.99	9.86	5.14
Urban (N)	0	73	201	99	7	192	65	197
Urban (%)	0	8.75	24.1	11.87	0.84	23.02	7.79	23.62
Total (N)	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271
Total (%)	12.23	12.71	15.13	14.47	14.12	10.33	9.1	11.92

Annexure 2.3 - Distribution of community by place of residence (Gujarat)

Place of residence	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Nat	Sansi	Total
Rural (N)	0	32	10	0	42
Rural (%)	0	76.19	23.81	0	100
Urban (N)	100	80	100	171	451
Urban (%)	22.17	17.74	22.17	37.92	100
Total (N)	100	112	110	171	493
Total (%)	20.28	22.72	22.31	34.69	100

Annexure 2.4 - Distribution of community by place of residence (Madhya Pradesh)

Place of residence	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Pardhi	Total
Rural (N)	278	174	35	106	51	142	786
Rural (%)	35.37	22.14	4.45	13.49	6.49	18.07	100
Urban (N)	0	56	3	1	1	65	126
Urban (%)	0	44.44	2.38	0.79	0.79	51.59	100
Total (N)	278	230	38	107	52	207	912
Total (%)	30.48	25.22	4.17	11.73	5.7	22.7	100

Annexure 2.5 - Distribution of community by place of residence (Rajasthan)

Place of residence	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Sansi	Total
Rural (N)	42	108	92	263	33	74	612
Rural (%)	6.86	17.65	15.03	42.97	5.39	12.09	100
Urban (N)	17	98	18	6	92	26	257
Urban (%)	6.61	38.13	7	2.33	35.8	10.12	100
Total (N)	59	206	110	269	125	100	869
Total (%)	6.79	23.71	12.66	30.96	14.38	11.51	100

STATUS OF CITIZENSHIP AND ENTITLEMENT DOCUMENTS

Annexure 3.1 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Voter ID Cards (data in %):

Voter ID Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	32.0	68.0	0.0	--	--	--
Bedia	92.1	7.4	0.5	87.7	9.6	2.7
Gadia Luhar	73.4	25.9	0.7	24.4	70.2	5.5
Kalbelia	32.2	63.9	3.9	35.4	62.6	2.0
Kanjar	35.4	63.1	1.6	28.6	57.1	14.3
Nat	74.4	25.6	0.0	19.3	78.1	2.6
Pardhi	14.1	80.3	5.6	70.8	27.7	1.5
Sansi	25.7	74.3	0.0	25.4	73.6	1.0
Total	45.1	53.3	1.7	33.9	63.2	2.9

Annexure 3.2 - Status of voting by those who have Voter ID cards:

		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	Yes	277	274	342	307	321	233	205	271	2,230
	Yes (%)	99.6	94.8	99.4	93.3	100.0	99.2	99.0	100.0	98.1
	No	1	15	2	22	0	2	2	0	44
	No (%)	0.4	5.2	0.6	6.7	0.0	0.9	1.0	0.0	1.9
	Total	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	2,274
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rural	Yes	277	202	143	209	314	43	142	74	1,404
	Yes (%)	99.6	93.5	100	90.9	100	100	100	100	97.5
	No	1	14	0.0	21	0	0	0	0	36
	No (%)	0.4	6.5	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
	Total	278	216	143	230	314	43	142	74	1,440
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Urban	Yes	--	72	199	98	7	190	63	197	826
	Yes (%)	--	98.6	99.0	99.0	100.0	99.0	96.9	100.0	99.0
	No	--	1	2	1	0	2	2	0	8
	No (%)	--	1.4	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	3.1	0.0	1.0
	Total	--	73	201	99	7	192	65	197	834
	Total (%)	--	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexure 3.3 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Aadhar Cards (data in %).

Aadhar Card Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	93.2	6.8	0.0	--	--	--
Bedia	97.2	2.8	0.0	98.6	1.4	0.0
Gadia Luhar	92.3	7.0	0.7	56.7	41.8	1.5
Kalbelia	89.6	4.4	6.1	72.7	25.3	2.0
Kanjar	68.8	27.4	3.8	28.6	42.9	28.6
Nat	81.4	18.6	0.0	50.0	47.9	2.1
Pardhi	77.5	19.0	3.5	83.1	15.4	1.5
Sansi	71.6	24.3	4.1	48.2	51.8	0.0
Total	84.8	12.8	2.4	60.6	38.0	1.4

Annexure 3.4 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Birth Certificates (data in %).

Birth Certificates Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	6.5	76.6	16.9	--	--	--
Bedia	69.4	15.3	15.3	63.0	20.6	16.4
Gadia Luhar	4.2	88.8	7.0	15.9	57.7	26.4
Kalbelia	14.4	30.9	54.8	25.3	55.6	19.2
Kanjar	14.3	59.6	26.1	0.0	42.9	57.1
Nat	39.5	53.5	7.0	0.5	77.6	21.9
Pardhi	1.4	70.4	28.2	26.2	41.5	32.3
Sansi	12.2	60.8	27.0	18.8	78.2	3.1
Total	19.4	55.5	25.1	18.9	62.2	18.8

Annexure 3.5 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Ration Cards (data in %).

Ration Cards Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	Yes, for some	None	Yes, for all	Yes, for some	None
Bachhada	92.5	6.8	0.7	--	--	--
Bedia	90.3	1.4	8.3	74.0	4.1	21.9
Gadia Luhar	78.3	11.2	10.5	74.1	20.9	5.0
Kalbelia	92.6	0.4	7.0	72.7	0.0	27.3
Kanjar	88.2	1.9	9.9	85.7	0.0	14.3
Nat	95.4	2.3	2.3	71.9	22.4	5.7
Pardhi	39.4	2.1	58.5	53.9	26.2	20.0
Sansi	96.0	1.4	2.7	70.1	26.4	3.6
Total	84.9	3.5	11.7	71.0	18.8	10.2

Annexure 3.6 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of MNREGA Job Cards (data in %).

Job Cards Possession	RURAL		
	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	4.3	42.5	53.2
Bedia	41.2	15.3	43.5
Gadia Luhar	35.0	48.3	16.8
Kalbelia	38.3	7.0	54.8
Kanjar	19.4	63.1	17.5
Nat	4.7	55.8	39.5
Pardhi	0.7	14.1	85.2
Sansi	4.1	66.2	29.7
Total	21.3	36.6	42.2

Annexure 3.7 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of BPL Card (data in %).

BPL Cards Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	60.8	21.6	17.6	--	--	--
Bedia	41.2	7.4	51.4	5.5	2.7	91.8
Gadia Luhar	37.7	43.4	18.9	25.9	24.4	49.7
Kalbelia	10.4	4.4	85.2	12.1	49.5	38.4
Kanjar	15	24.8	60.2	0	0	100
Nat	13.9	65.1	21	34.4	19.3	46.3
Pardhi	4.2	4.9	90.9	29.2	29.2	41.6
Sansi	21.6	17.6	60.8	34	19.8	46.2
Total	28.4	19	52.6	26.4	23.4	50.2

Annexure 3.8 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Health Insurance (data in %).

Health Insurance Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	6.5	35.6	57.9	--	--	--
Bedia	34.7	9.3	56.0	17.8	4.1	78.1
Gadia Luhar	25.9	60.1	14.0	8.0	38.8	53.2
Kalbelia	3.5	10.4	86.1	1.0	46.5	52.5
Kanjar	8.3	27.1	64.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nat	9.3	67.4	23.3	9.4	36.5	54.2
Pardhi	2.8	5.6	91.6	20.0	41.5	38.5
Sansi	13.5	24.3	62.2	18.8	38.6	42.6
Total	12.6	25.6	61.7	11.8	36.0	52.3

Annexure 3.9 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Caste Certificate (data in %).

Cate Certificate Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	11.9	84.9	3.2	--	--	--
Bedia	77.3	11.6	11.1	69.9	20.6	9.6
Gadia Luhar	72.0	11.9	16.1	10.0	8.0	82.1
Kalbelia	12.2	39.6	48.3	1.0	2.0	97.0
Kanjar	27.1	31.2	41.7	14.3	14.3	71.4
Nat	41.9	48.8	9.3	1.0	28.7	70.3
Pardhi	2.1	4.2	93.7	7.7	15.4	76.9
Sansi	14.9	70.3	8914.9	10.2	42.1	47.7
Total	31.1	37.9	31.0	12.0	21.8	66.2

Annexure 3.10 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Bonafide Certificate (data in %).

Bonafide Certificate Possession	RURAL			URBAN		
	Yes, for all	For some	None	Yes, for all	For some	None
Bachhada	7.6	57.9	34.5	--	--	--
Bedia	77.3	9.3	13.4	68.5	15.1	16.4
Gadia Luhar	69.2	23.1	7.7	8.5	2.5	89.1
Kalbelia	10.0	8.3	81.7	1.0	0.0	99.0
Kanjar	25.2	32.8	42.0	14.3	14.3	71.4
Nat	32.6	58.1	9.3	1.0	9.4	89.6
Pardhi	3.5	33.8	62.7	12.3	18.5	69.2
Sansi	23.0	62.2	14.9	1.5	14.7	83.8
Total	29.5	31.6	38.9	9.8	9.1	81.1

Annexure 3.11 - Urban-rural differentials in the possession of Old Age Pension (data in %).

	Old Age Pension Possession	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total (Urban + Rural)	Yes, for all members	4.0	3.0	16.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	28.0
	Yes, for all members (%)	25.0	15.8	30.8	0.0	3.5	7.7	10.0	0.0	12.7
	For some members	6.0	0.0	10.0	3.0	26.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	53.0
	For some members (%)	37.5	0.0	19.2	14.3	45.6	30.8	5.0	13.0	24.0
	None	6.0	16.0	26.0	18.0	29.0	8.0	17.0	20.0	140.0
	None (%)	37.5	84.2	50.0	85.7	50.9	61.5	85.0	87.0	63.4
	Total	16.0	19.0	52.0	21.0	57.0	13.0	20.0	23.0	221.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	Yes, for all members	4.0	3.0	12.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.0

	Yes, for all members (%)	25.0	23.1	52.2	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.2
	For some members	6.0	0.0	6.0	3.0	25.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	43.0
	For some members (%)	37.5	0.0	26.1	20.0	44.6	100.0	0.0	40.0	31.2
	None	6.0	10.0	5.0	12.0	29.0	0.0	9.0	3.0	74.0
	None (%)	37.5	76.9	21.7	80.0	51.8	0.0	100.0	60.0	53.6
	Total	16.0	13.0	23.0	15.0	56.0	1.0	9.0	5.0	138.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	Yes, for all members		0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	7.0
	Yes, for all members (%)		0.0	13.8	0.0	0.0	8.3	18.2	0.0	8.4
	For some members		0.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	10.0
	For some members (%)		0.0	13.8	0.0	100.0	25.0	9.1	5.6	12.1
	None		6.0	21.0	6.0	0.0	8.0	8.0	17.0	66.0
	None (%)		100.0	72.4	100.0	0.0	66.7	72.7	94.4	79.5
	Total		6.0	29.0	6.0	1.0	12.0	11.0	18.0	83.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The above table accounts for women above the age of 55 years and men above 58 years in Rajasthan and both men and women above 60 years in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.

EDUCATION STATUS

Annexure 4.1 - Literacy Rate (6 years and above) among the DNT & NT communities

Year 2019-20										
		Rural			Urban			Total		
		Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Bachhada	N	425	373	798	--	--	--	425	373	798
	%	69.6	56.7	62.8	--	--	--	69.6	56.7	62.8
Bedia	N	318	300	618	99	88	187	417	388	805
	%	67.5	60.7	64.0	66.9	54.3	60.3	67.4	59.2	63.1
Gadia Luhar	N	43	56	99	131	119	250	174	175	349
	%	14.1	18.0	16.1	31.4	28.3	29.9	24.1	23.9	24.0
Kalbelia	N	324	180	504	51	36	88	375	216	592
	%	52.9	35.7	45.1	26.0	19.9	23.2	46.4	31.5	39.6
Kanjar	N	469	324	793	9	4	13	478	328	806
	%	59.1	41.8	50.5	52.9	26.7	40.6	59.0	41.5	50.3
Nat	N	71	41	112	180	128	308	251	169	420
	%	68.3	48.8	59.6	38.6	31.5	35.3	44.0	34.5	39.6
Pardhi	N	140	119	259	96	49	145	236	168	404
	%	42.3	36.3	39.3	50.8	27.8	39.7	45.4	33.3	39.5
Sansi	N	112	71	183	268	236	504	380	307	687
	%	64.7	51.5	58.8	61.2	57.6	59.4	62.2	56.0	59.3
Total	N	1,902	1,464	3,366	834	660	1,495	2,736	2,124	4,861
	%	55.9	44.5	50.3	44.6	37.3	41.0	51.9	42.0	47.0

Annexure 4.2 - Urban rural differentials in the enrolment status of children age 6 to 18

		Rural				Urban			
		Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education	Never enrolled	Dropped out	Currently enrolled	Completed education
Bachhada	N	8	31	500	0	--	--	--	--
	%	1.5	5.8	92.8	0.0	--	--	--	--
Bedia	N	19	62	321	0	1	16	111	0
	%	4.7	15.4	79.9	0.0	0.8	12.5	86.7	0
Gadia Luhar	N	196	21	82	0	115	66	210	0
	%	65.6	7.0	27.4	0.0	29.4	16.9	53.7	0
Kalbelia	N	142	105	345	1	55	54	65	0
	%	24.0	17.7	58.2	0.2	31.6	31.0	37.4	0

Kanjar	N	75	177	521	0	2	10	7	0
	%	9.7	22.8	67.2	0.0	10.5	52.6	36.8	0
Nat	N	4	13	73	0	63	80	259	0
	%	4.4	14.4	81.1	0.0	15.7	19.9	64.4	0
Pardhi	N	96	53	194	0	34	50	67	0
	%	28.0	15.5	56.6	0.0	22.5	33.1	44.4	0
Sansi	N	13	18	129	0	6	42	305	0
	%	8.1	11.3	80.6	0.0	1.7	11.9	86.4	0
Total	N	553	480	2,165	1	276	318	1,024	0
	%	17.3	15.0	67.6	0.0	17.1	19.7	63.3	0

Annexure 4.3 - Educational qualification of currently enrolled children:

Class	No. of students	Class	No. of students
Aanganwadi	65	8	223
UKG/LKG	39	9	207
1	316	10	172
2	364	11	99
3	348	12	152
4	257	Graduation (BA, Bcom, BSc)	74
5	500	Post Graduation (MA, MBA)	5
6	417	Others (ITI, Polytechnic)	8
7	314	Total	3560

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT & PERCEPTION TOWARDS CHILD EDUCATION

Annexure 5.1 - Percentage of parents consulted someone for their child's education

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Percentage consulted someone for admitting their child	34.4	65.2	26.7	51.1	78.1	73.6	32.4	90.8
Percentage consulted someone for deciding subject for their child	30.1	58.2	24.4	22.0	74.6	71.5	23.2	88.6
Percentage consulted someone for choosing school/college for their child	30.8	61.3	25.8	34.6	72.6	70.2	25.1	87.8
Percentage consulted someone for financial support for their child education	37.0	79.8	34.4	50.0	72.1	42.1	27.5	49.8
Percentage consulted someone for guidance for their child education	34.4	71.8	25.4	48.0	62.2	84.7	9.7	80.1

Annexure 5.2 - Percentage of people consulted someone for admitting their child.

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own Family Member	78.1	38.5	16.5	69.2	31.7	61.5	34.3	73.6	52.4
Community Leader	1.0	19.3	41.8	3.6	17.1	2.9	56.7	9.8	14.9
Teacher	3.1	4.8	11.0	20.7	13.0	1.2	4.5	0.0	7.4
Local political leaders	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.2
Neighbours	3.1	3.7	0.0	6.5	2.9	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.4
Educated members in the community	13.5	32.1	29.7	0.0	28.1	31.6	3.0	16.7	20.9
NGOs	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.2
Others	1.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.7

Annexure 5.3 - Percentage of people consulted someone for deciding subject for their child.

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own Family Member	80.5	35.3	14.5	32.5	27.2	63.5	20.8	73.8	47.4
Community Leader	1.2	23.4	39.8	6.5	16.2	2.9	70.8	10.4	16.3
Teacher	3.5	21.6	6.0	59.7	15.7	2.4	6.3	0.0	12.1
Local political leader	0.0	0.0	26.5	0.0	9.4	19.4	0.0	11.7	9.5
Neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6

Educated members in the community	14.9	19.8	13.3	0.0	28.1	11.8	2.1	4.2	13.9
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2

Annexure 5.4 - Percentage of people consulted for choosing school/college for their child

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own Family Member	79.8	40.0	14.6	36.8	27.5	65.7	28.9	61.6	45.9
Community Leader	1.1	22.9	27.0	5.1	14.4	6.6	67.3	18.1	16.7
Teacher	5.6	11.4	7.9	47.0	14.9	0.6	0.0	12.2	13.1
Local political leader	0.0	0.0	13.5	0.0	14.4	16.3	0.0	5.1	7.3
Neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.2	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.7
Educated members in the community	13.5	24.6	36.0	0.0	25.8	10.2	1.9	2.5	14.7
NGO	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
Others	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4

Annexure 5.5 - Percentage of people consulted for financial support for their child education

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own Family Member	75.5	76.9	29.9	93.4	21.7	21.0	35.1	50.8	52.9
Community Leader	1.0	16.6	22.2	3.0	20.4	12.0	63.2	23.9	17.4
Teacher	0.0	0.0	5.1	0.0	6.4	8.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
Local political leader	0.0	0.0	35.0	0.0	28.9	33.0	0.0	22.4	15.1
Neighbours	12.8	5.7	0.9	3.6	11.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3
Educated members in the community	9.8	0.4	6.0	0.0	10.2	26.0	1.8	2.2	6.3
NGO	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Others	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.4

Annexure 5.6 - Percentage of people consulted for general guidance for the child education

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own Family Member	79.4	76.0	32.6	81.2	30.1	61.5	45.0	68.5	61.6
Community Leader	2.1	4.9	32.6	0.0	18.9	8.5	5.0	6.0	9.3
Teacher	2.1	2.5	9.3	1.3	10.2	6.0	20.0	0.0	4.5
Local political leader	0.0	0.0	18.6	0.0	23.5	13.5	0.0	1.9	8.0
Neighbours	4.1	3.4	0.0	16.8	4.6	1.0	0.0	0.5	4.1
Educated members in the community	12.4	12.8	5.8	0.0	8.7	9.0	5.0	23.2	11.0
NGO	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	3.6	0.0	20.0	0.0	1.0
Others	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.5	5.0	0.0	0.4

Annexure 5.7 - Parent's visit to schools to know about their child's progress.

Number of times	Data in %
Never	29.69
When required	0.32
1 to 3 times	27.35
4 to 6 times	26.33
7 to 9 times	7.14
10 or more times	9.17

Annexure 5.8 - Parent's perception about their child writing, reading and speaking skills

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Can write	97.8	96.2	39.8	81.3	79.4	83.7	72.3	97.8
Can read	97.5	96.2	39.5	78.8	76.9	82.4	71.8	96.3
Can speak	98.6	96.9	67.5	93.3	95.9	94.9	86.4	94.8

Annexure 5.9 - Child participation in school/college activities

Child participation	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Child participates in cultural programmes	72.5	72.3	33.6	46.3	56.7	79.3	25.7	83.03
Child participates in Sport activities	84.1	72.3	33.0	47.6	47.9	79.3	32.0	84.5
Child participates in Co-curricular programmes	67.8	66.8	35.1	40.8	50.6	80.2	23.8	68.3

Annexure 5.10 - Aspiration of parents for the level of study of their son

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Level up to which you wish to provide son's education								
<i>Primary</i>	0.4	0.0	1.7	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4
<i>Middle</i>	1.3	0.0	4.1	0.3	1.8	3.5	1.1	0.4
<i>SSC</i>	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	2.8	2.0	1.1	0.4
<i>Hr Sec</i>	0.0	20.7	22.5	6.3	16.6	20.4	15.3	8.7
<i>Higher degree</i>	45.6	49.4	38.7	48.3	41.9	39.3	73.5	26.4
<i>High Professional degree</i>	52.7	26.3	32.4	33.8	36.3	33.3	8.5	63.0
<i>Don't want to educate</i>	0.0	3.2	0.6	10.6	0.0	1.5	0.5	0.8

Annexure 5.11 - Aspiration of parents for the level of study of their daughter

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
<i>Primary</i>	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0

<i>Middle</i>	0.5	2.6	7.2	0.0	11.1	3.8	1.2	1.3
<i>SSc</i>	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.7	2.4	2.2	1.2	1.3
<i>Hr Sec</i>	3.7	22.3	16.3	7.6	22.9	28.3	10.5	11.6
<i>Higher degree</i>	41.7	50.7	41.0	44.0	24.5	28.3	79.1	27.1
<i>High Professional degree</i>	53.2	23.1	31.9	35.0	37.9	33.2	6.4	58.2
<i>Don't want to educate</i>	0.5	0.9	0.6	11.9	0.8	3.8	1.7	0.4

Annexure 5.12 - Number of hours spent by the children in different works at home.

No of Hours	No. of Children
1	115
2	229
3	122
4	106
5	81
6	43
7	12
8	70
9	9
10	21
Morning and evening	22
More than 10	91
Whole day (15 hours)	55
Total	592

Annexure 5.13 - Help received by the child in his/her studies at home after school

Sr. No.	People who helps in studies of the children	No. of Households	Percentage
1	Parents	378	16.62
2	Family Members (sister, brother, grandparents, uncle & aunt)	60	2.64
3	Neighbours	3	0.13
4	Tutor (private, NGOs, volunteers)	17	0.75
5	Self-Study	697	30.65
6	No one helps	856	37.64
7	No one going to school	263	11.57
	Total	2274	100

Annexure 5.14 - Parents perception regarding children's liking to attend schools

Sr. No.	Does your child like to go to school?	No. of Households (parents)	Percentage
1	Yes	1688	77.04
2	No	342	15.61
3	Do not know	161	7.35

Annexure 5.15 - Issues of discrimination faced by the DNT & NT children in school (data in %).

Types of discrimination	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Being called by the name of the community in derogatory manner	5.0	13.5	33.7	14.0	39.9	35.7	85.0	29.5
Made to sit in the back bench	0.4	5.9	23.6	7.3	26.5	30.6	15.5	22.9
Not paid any attention by the teacher	1.8	5.2	17.2	7.3	56.1	30.2	17.4	26.6
Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship	0.7	3.5	0.3	7.9	13.4	1.3	11.1	5.5
Addressed as adivasi alluding to being uncultured	0.7	3.8	4.4	11.9	13.4	2.1	10.6	3.7
Sitting arrangements in classroom are humiliating	0.7	3.1	23.6	7.0	19.0	26.4	9.2	10.7
Mid-day-meal discrimination	0.4	3.1	22.1	13.4	19.9	28.9	9.2	10.3
Teacher's attitude is offensive/insulting	0.4	2.4	5.8	4.6	18.7	14.0	11.6	10.0
Fellow students' attitude is offensive/hurtful	0.7	4.2	21.8	7.6	24.6	29.4	12.6	13.7
Playground & cultural activities discrimination	0.4	4.5	5.5	7.0	13.7	7.2	15.9	5.2
Drinking water from the same pot & glass is restricted	0.0	11.1	11.1	13.4	21.8	0.9	71.5	6.3
Taking tea or water to the teacher is prevented	0.0	11.1	8.7	5.2	19.0	0.4	71.0	7.0
Child asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do	0.4	14.2	12.8	5.2	14.0	0.9	68.6	5.9

Annexure 5.16 - Level of discrimination being faced by the children in school.

<i>Discrimination index</i>	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
<i>None</i>	94.6	76.5	63.4	82.1	25.2	61.3	10.1	65.7	61.4
<i>Moderate</i>	5.0	17.3	12.8	7.9	50.2	8.5	66.7	18.8	22.2
<i>Severe</i>	0.4	6.2	23.8	10.0	24.6	30.2	23.2	15.5	16.5

Note: A discrimination index was created by adding the number of discriminations reported in Annexure 5.15, least being 0 and maximum being 13. It was further divided into three categories- None, 1-4 as Moderate, and more than 5 discriminations as severe.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN EDUCATION

Annexure 6.1 - Percentage aware regarding affirmative action schemes for child education

Aware	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	90.2	41.9	50.7	31.3	33.9	84.2	6.8	74.5	51.5
N	275	284	337	329	307	228	207	267	2,234

OCCUPATION, INCOME & EXPENDITURE

Annexure 7.1 - Primary and secondary occupations practiced by the members of the households.

Sr. No.	Broad categories of professions	Primary Occupation	Secondary Occupation
1	Making & Selling Country Liquor	4.9	4.9
2	Beggary	1.4	0.2
3	Hunting (catch partridge, rabbit, etc.)	6.1	0.5
4	Creative Industry (DJ band, film-maker, drum player, acrobatics, magician, mimicry, Chakri and Rai dancer)	7.8	1.6
5	Farming	19.9	7.9
6	Govt. Job	0.2	0.1
7	Black Smith	14.2	0.1
8	Labour Work	31.1	70.4
9	Prostitution	3.6	0.8
10	Scrap Collection	1.5	7.6
11	Business	6.2	2.7
12	Other works (driver, bangle seller, cattle grazing, petty private jobs, Advocate, etc.)	3.3	2.9

Note: For detailed list of 52 different kind of professions listed under the primary and secondary occupation see Table 7.ii.

Annexure 7.2 - Broad category of various occupations practiced by the DNT & NT households (based on the occupation of head of the family).

Occupations		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadi Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Farming	N	135	55	0	85	127	18	2	40	462
	%	48.56	19.03	0	25.84	39.69	7.66	0.97	14.81	20.33
Making & selling of liquor	N	0	5	1	0	17	0	0	65	88
	%	0	1.73	0.29	0	5.31	0	0	24.07	3.87
Beggary	N	0	0	0	30	1	0	1	0	32
	%	0	0	0	9.12	0.31	0	0.48	0	1.41
Hunting	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	155	0	155
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0	74.88	0	6.82
Artists/ Entertainer	N	1	30	0	1	14	89	0	5	140
	%	0.36	10.38	0	0.3	4.38	37.87	0	1.85	6.16
Blacksmith	N	0	1	306	0	0	7	0	1	315
	%	0	0.35	88.95	0	0	2.98	0	0.37	13.86
Prostitution	N	28	116	28	0	80	0	3	36	291
	%	10.07	40.14	8.14	0	25	0	1.45	13.33	12.81
Scrap	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.38	0	0.31

Driver	N	5	3	0	17	5	7	1	10	48
	%	1.8	1.04	0	5.17	1.56	2.98	0.48	3.7	2.11
Daily labour	N	102	72	9	193	74	112	30	86	678
	%	35.97	24.91	2.62	58.66	23.12	47.66	14.49	31.85	29.75
Small business	N	5	2	0	3	2	0	7	16	35
	%	1.8	0.69	0	0.91	0.62	0	3.38	5.93	1.54
Formal Employment	N	4	5	0	0	0	2	1	11	23
	%	1.44	1.73	0	0	0	0.85	0.48	4.07	1.01
Total	N	280	289	344	329	320	235	207	270	2,274
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexure 7.3 - Income distribution across the DNT & NT communities (Total)

Total Income		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Upto 25,000	N	176	31	149	2	159	5	110	10	642
	%	63.31	10.73	43.31	0.61	49.53	2.13	53.14	3.69	28.23
25,000 - 50,000	N	82	66	26	75	108	22	74	49	502
	%	29.5	22.84	7.56	22.8	33.64	9.36	35.75	18.08	22.08
50,000 - 75,000	N	15	52	108	110	36	91	4	31	447
	%	5.4	17.99	31.4	33.43	11.21	38.72	1.93	11.44	19.66
75,000 - 1 Lakh	N	3	34	42	90	15	69	3	31	287
	%	1.08	11.76	12.21	27.36	4.67	29.36	1.45	11.44	12.62
1 Lakh - 15 Lakh	N	2	106	19	52	3	48	16	150	396
	%	0.72	36.68	5.52	15.81	0.93	20.43	7.73	55.35	17.41
Total	N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	2,274
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexure 7.4 - Income distribution across the DNT & NT communities (Rural and Urban)

Total Income		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Rural										
Upto 25,000	N	176	26	122	1	157	2	98	7	589
	%	63.31	12.04	85.31	0.43	50	4.65	69.01	9.46	40.9
25,000 - 50,000	N	82	60	14	58	106	8	44	36	408
	%	29.5	27.78	9.79	25.22	33.76	18.6	30.99	48.65	28.33
50,000 - 75,000	N	15	49	1	43	35	6	0	15	164
	%	5.4	22.69	0.7	18.7	11.15	13.95	0	20.27	11.39
75,000 - 1 Lakh	N	3	27	4	78	13	5	0	11	141
	%	1.08	12.5	2.8	33.91	4.14	11.63	0	14.86	9.79
1 Lakh - 15 Lakh	N	2	54	2	50	3	22	0	5	138
	%	0.72	25	1.4	21.74	0.96	51.16	0	6.76	9.58
Total	N	278	216	143	230	314	43	142	74	1,440
Urban										
Upto 25,000	N	0	5	27	1	2	3	12	3	53
	%	0	6.85	13.43	1.01	28.57	1.56	18.46	1.52	6.35

25,000 - 50,000	N	0	6	12	17	2	14	30	13	94
	%	0	8.22	5.97	17.17	28.57	7.29	46.15	6.6	11.27
50,000 - 75,000	N	0	3	107	67	1	85	4	16	283
	%	0	4.11	53.23	67.68	14.29	44.27	6.15	8.12	33.93
75,000 - 1 Lakh	N	0	7	38	12	2	64	3	20	146
	%	0	9.59	18.91	12.12	28.57	33.33	4.62	10.15	17.51
1 Lakh - 15 Lakh	N	0	52	17	2	0	26	16	145	258
	%	0	71.23	8.46	2.02	0	13.54	24.62	73.6	30.94
Total	N	0	73	201	99	7	192	65	197	834

Annexure 7.5 - Annual Income from various professions among the DNT & NT communities (from Primary & Secondary professions).

Primary Income (in Rs.)				
Sr. No.	Occupation	Rural	Urban	Total Income
1	Farming	46381	55000	46609
2	Making and selling alcohol	39828	123305	95795
3	Beggary	44484	12000	43469
4	Hunting	19871	15000	19368
5	Artists/Entertainer	38479	75109	62550
6	Blacksmith	17594	56398	39344
7	Prostitution	164925	172308	168581
8	Scrap	33500	25700	27929
9	Driver	78053	86414	83104
10	Daily labour	43808	75880	58512
11	Small business	41500	96792	82969
12	Formal employment	140500	174667	162783
Secondary Occupation (in Rs.)				
Sr. No.	Occupation	Rural	Urban	Total Income
1	Farming	64216	48000	64051
2	Making and selling alcohol	65533	147941	95340
3	Beggary	15900	--	15900
4	Hunting	--	10000	10000
5	Artists/Entertainer	22000	31000	25375
6	Blacksmith	--	10000	10000
7	Prostitution	83750	104000	91538
8	Scrap	16239	17500	16282
9	Driver	51250	36000	46167
10	Daily labour	27582	42023	30197
11	Small business	39297	80667	52500
12	Formal employment	30000	89333	74500

Annexure 7.6 - Family Expenditure

Average Monthly Food Expenditure								
	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural	4081	4833	5752	5091	4297	5938	4204	4730
Urban		7092	7267	7301	4600	7301	4452	8490
Total	4081	5281	6576	5875	4302	7036	4280	7278
Education of boys and girls								
	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural	680	617	833	334	508	556	932	571
Urban		606	153	900	400	320	787	599
Total	680	615	252	362	507	360	907	592
Girls education								
	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural	607	638	811	349	536	420	948	582
Urban		647	84	500	1000	353	700	550
Total	607	640	228	351	540	371	899	556
Electricity								
	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural	521	344	246	306	387	619	200	368
Urban		779	729	695	650	724	319	795
Total	521	377	613	442	389	701	230	660
Water								
	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi
Rural	153	213	258	33	224	270	300	360
Urban		267	331		100	281	182	433
Total	153	217	302	33	220	281	236	383
Total of All	6042	7130	7971	7063	5958	8749	6552	9469

Annexure 7.7 - Household appliances and possessions

Table/Chair										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	144.0	36.0	227.0	180.0	237.0	83.0	128.0	32.0	1067.0
	No (%)	51.8	12.5	66.0	54.7	73.8	35.3	61.8	11.8	46.9
	Yes	134.0	253.0	117.0	149.0	84.0	152.0	79.0	239.0	1207.0
	Yes (%)	48.2	87.5	34.0	45.3	26.2	64.7	38.2	88.2	53.1
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	144.0	35.0	133.0	135.0	230.0	17.0	106.0	27.0	827.0
	No (%)	51.8	16.2	93.0	58.7	73.3	39.5	74.7	36.5	57.4
	Yes	134.0	181.0	10.0	95.0	84.0	26.0	36.0	47.0	613.0
	Yes (%)	48.2	83.8	7.0	41.3	26.8	60.5	25.4	63.5	42.6

	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		1.0	94.0	45.0	7.0	66.0	22.0	5.0	240.0
	No (%)		1.4	46.8	45.5	100.0	34.4	33.9	2.5	28.8
	Yes		72.0	107.0	54.0	0.0	126.0	43.0	192.0	594.0
	Yes (%)		98.6	53.2	54.6	0.0	65.6	66.2	97.5	71.2
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Electric fan / Cooler										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	21.0	25.0	206.0	172.0	106.0	32.0	91.0	10.0	663.0
	No (%)	7.6	8.7	59.9	52.3	33.0	13.6	44.0	3.7	29.2
	Yes	257.0	264.0	138.0	157.0	215.0	203.0	116.0	261.0	1611.0
	Yes (%)	92.5	91.4	40.1	47.7	67.0	86.4	56.0	96.3	70.8
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	21.0	25.0	116.0	75.0	102.0	8.0	87.0	7.0	441.0
	No (%)	7.6	11.6	81.1	32.6	32.5	18.6	61.3	9.5	30.6
	Yes	257.0	191.0	27.0	155.0	212.0	35.0	55.0	67.0	999.0
	Yes (%)	92.5	88.4	18.9	67.4	67.5	81.4	38.7	90.5	69.4
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		0.0	90.0	97.0	4.0	24.0	4.0	3.0	222.0
	No (%)		0.0	44.8	98.0	57.1	12.5	6.2	1.5	26.6
	Yes		73.0	111.0	2.0	3.0	168.0	61.0	194.0	612.0
	Yes (%)		100.0	55.2	2.0	42.9	87.5	93.9	98.5	73.4
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Kitchen appliances like Cooker										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	32.0	42.0	185.0	228.0	209.0	79.0	166.0	48.0	989.0
	No (%)	11.5	14.5	53.8	69.3	65.1	33.6	80.2	17.7	43.5
	Yes	246.0	247.0	159.0	101.0	112.0	156.0	41.0	223.0	1285.0
	Yes (%)	88.5	85.5	46.2	30.7	34.9	66.4	19.8	82.3	56.5
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	32.0	41.0	128.0	162.0	206.0	25.0	139.0	24.0	757.0
	No (%)	11.5	19.0	89.5	70.4	65.6	58.1	97.9	32.4	52.6
	Yes	246.0	175.0	15.0	68.0	108.0	18.0	3.0	50.0	683.0
	Yes (%)	88.5	81.0	10.5	29.6	34.4	41.9	2.1	67.6	47.4
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Urban	No		1.0	57.0	66.0	3.0	54.0	27.0	24.0	232.0
	No (%)		1.4	28.4	66.7	42.9	28.1	41.5	12.2	27.8
	Yes		72.0	144.0	33.0	4.0	138.0	38.0	173.0	602.0
	Yes (%)		98.6	71.6	33.3	57.1	71.9	58.5	87.8	72.2
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Refrigerator / Cooler										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	186.0	81.0	336.0	320.0	269.0	214.0	182.0	185.0	1773.0
	No (%)	66.9	28.0	97.7	97.3	83.8	91.1	87.9	68.3	78.0
	Yes	92.0	208.0	8.0	9.0	52.0	21.0	25.0	86.0	501.0
	Yes (%)	33.1	72.0	2.3	2.7	16.2	8.9	12.1	31.7	22.0
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	186.0	78.0	137.0	221.0	262.0	33.0	140.0	58.0	1115.0
	No (%)	66.9	36.1	95.8	96.1	83.4	76.7	98.6	78.4	77.4
	Yes	92.0	138.0	6.0	9.0	52.0	10.0	2.0	16.0	325.0
	Yes (%)	33.1	63.9	4.2	3.9	16.6	23.3	1.4	21.6	22.6
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		3.0	199.0	99.0	7.0	181.0	42.0	127.0	658.0
	No (%)		4.1	99.0	100.0	100.0	94.3	64.6	64.5	78.9
	Yes		70.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	11.0	23.0	70.0	176.0
	Yes (%)		95.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.7	35.4	35.5	21.1
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Television										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	266.0	114.0	260.0	326.0	300.0	149.0	199.0	196.0	1810.0
	No (%)	95.7	39.5	75.6	99.1	93.5	63.4	96.1	72.3	79.6
	Yes	12.0	175.0	84.0	3.0	21.0	86.0	8.0	75.0	464.0
	Yes (%)	4.3	60.6	24.4	0.9	6.5	36.6	3.9	27.7	20.4
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	266.0	107.0	143.0	228.0	293.0	41.0	139.0	72.0	1289.0
	No (%)	95.7	49.5	100.0	99.1	93.3	95.4	97.9	97.3	89.5
	Yes	12.0	109.0	0.0	2.0	21.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	151.0
	Yes (%)	4.3	50.5	0.0	0.9	6.7	4.7	2.1	2.7	10.5
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		7.0	117.0	98.0	7.0	108.0	60.0	124.0	521.0
	No (%)		9.6	58.2	99.0	100.0	56.3	92.3	62.9	62.5

	Yes		66.0	84.0	1.0	0.0	84.0	5.0	73.0	313.0
	Yes (%)		90.4	41.8	1.0	0.0	43.8	7.7	37.1	37.5
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Computer / Laptop										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	272.0	239.0	341.0	324.0	320.0	231.0	205.0	263.0	2195.0
	No (%)	97.8	82.7	99.1	98.5	99.7	98.3	99.0	97.1	96.5
	Yes	6.0	50.0	3.0	5.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	8.0	79.0
	Yes (%)	2.2	17.3	0.9	1.5	0.3	1.7	1.0	3.0	3.5
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	272.0	181.0	140.0	225.0	313.0	41.0	141.0	73.0	1386.0
	No (%)	97.8	83.8	97.9	97.8	99.7	95.4	99.3	98.7	96.3
	Yes	6.0	35.0	3.0	5.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	54.0
	Yes (%)	2.2	16.2	2.1	2.2	0.3	4.7	0.7	1.4	3.8
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		58.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	190.0	64.0	190.0	809.0
	No (%)		79.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0	98.5	96.5	97.0
	Yes		15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	7.0	25.0
	Yes (%)		20.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.5	3.6	3.0
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Telephone / Mobile phone										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	81.0	19.0	41.0	97.0	62.0	12.0	38.0	8.0	358.0
	No (%)	29.1	6.6	11.9	29.5	19.3	5.1	18.4	3.0	15.7
	Yes	197.0	270.0	303.0	232.0	259.0	223.0	169.0	263.0	1916.0
	Yes (%)	70.9	93.4	88.1	70.5	80.7	94.9	81.6	97.1	84.3
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	81.0	18.0	28.0	42.0	60.0	2.0	34.0	3.0	268.0
	No (%)	29.1	8.3	19.6	18.3	19.1	4.7	23.9	4.1	18.6
	Yes	197.0	198.0	115.0	188.0	254.0	41.0	108.0	71.0	1172.0
	Yes (%)	70.9	91.7	80.4	81.7	80.9	95.4	76.1	96.0	81.4
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		1.0	13.0	55.0	2.0	10.0	4.0	5.0	90.0
	No (%)		1.4	6.5	55.6	28.6	5.2	6.2	2.5	10.8
	Yes		72.0	188.0	44.0	5.0	182.0	61.0	192.0	744.0
	Yes (%)		98.6	93.5	44.4	71.4	94.8	93.9	97.5	89.2

	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cycle/Cycle Rickshaw										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	237.0	140.0	281.0	203.0	250.0	151.0	171.0	138.0	1571.0
	No (%)	85.3	48.4	81.7	61.7	77.9	64.3	82.6	50.9	69.1
	Yes	41.0	149.0	63.0	126.0	71.0	84.0	36.0	133.0	703.0
	Yes (%)	14.8	51.6	18.3	38.3	22.1	35.7	17.4	49.1	30.9
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	237.0	97.0	133.0	129.0	244.0	24.0	126.0	27.0	1017.0
	No (%)	85.3	44.9	93.0	56.1	77.7	55.8	88.7	36.5	70.6
	Yes	41.0	119.0	10.0	101.0	70.0	19.0	16.0	47.0	423.0
	Yes (%)	14.8	55.1	7.0	43.9	22.3	44.2	11.3	63.5	29.4
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		43.0	148.0	74.0	6.0	127.0	45.0	111.0	554.0
	No (%)		58.9	73.6	74.8	85.7	66.2	69.2	56.4	66.4
	Yes		30.0	53.0	25.0	1.0	65.0	20.0	86.0	280.0
	Yes (%)		41.1	26.4	25.3	14.3	33.9	30.8	43.7	33.6
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Auto Rickshaw										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	275.0	274.0	343.0	309.0	310.0	225.0	204.0	262.0	2202.0
	No (%)	98.9	94.8	99.7	93.9	96.6	95.7	98.6	96.7	96.8
	Yes	3.0	15.0	1.0	20.0	11.0	10.0	3.0	9.0	72.0
	Yes (%)	1.1	5.2	0.3	6.1	3.4	4.3	1.5	3.3	3.2
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	275.0	205.0	142.0	225.0	304.0	36.0	141.0	73.0	1401.0
	No (%)	98.9	94.9	99.3	97.8	96.8	83.7	99.3	98.7	97.3
	Yes	3.0	11.0	1.0	5.0	10.0	7.0	1.0	1.0	39.0
	Yes (%)	1.1	5.1	0.7	2.2	3.2	16.3	0.7	1.4	2.7
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		69.0	201.0	84.0	6.0	189.0	63.0	189.0	801.0
	No (%)		94.5	100.0	84.9	85.7	98.4	96.9	95.9	96.0
	Yes		4.0	0.0	15.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	8.0	33.0
	Yes (%)		5.5	0.0	15.2	14.3	1.6	3.1	4.1	4.0
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Scooter / Motorbike										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	149.0	139.0	290.0	141.0	206.0	176.0	125.0	145.0	1371.0
	No (%)	53.6	48.1	84.3	42.9	64.2	74.9	60.4	53.5	60.3
	Yes	129.0	150.0	54.0	188.0	115.0	59.0	82.0	126.0	903.0
	Yes (%)	46.4	51.9	15.7	57.1	35.8	25.1	39.6	46.5	39.7
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	149.0	106.0	124.0	88.0	203.0	10.0	97.0	36.0	813.0
	No (%)	53.6	49.1	86.7	38.3	64.7	23.3	68.3	48.7	56.5
	Yes	129.0	110.0	19.0	142.0	111.0	33.0	45.0	38.0	627.0
	Yes (%)	46.4	50.9	13.3	61.7	35.4	76.7	31.7	51.4	43.5
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		33.0	166.0	53.0	3.0	166.0	28.0	109.0	558.0
	No (%)		45.2	82.6	53.5	42.9	86.5	43.1	55.3	66.9
	Yes		40.0	35.0	46.0	4.0	26.0	37.0	88.0	276.0
	Yes (%)		54.8	17.4	46.5	57.1	13.5	56.9	44.7	33.1
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Gas Connection										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	47.0	32.0	166.0	183.0	76.0	32.0	107.0	14.0	657.0
	No (%)	16.9	11.1	48.3	55.6	23.7	13.6	51.7	5.2	28.9
	Yes	231.0	257.0	178.0	146.0	245.0	203.0	100.0	257.0	1617.0
	Yes (%)	83.1	88.9	51.7	44.4	76.3	86.4	48.3	94.8	71.1
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	47.0	31.0	100.0	89.0	73.0	9.0	83.0	11.0	443.0
	No (%)	16.9	14.4	69.9	38.7	23.3	20.9	58.5	14.9	30.8
	Yes	231.0	185.0	43.0	141.0	241.0	34.0	59.0	63.0	997.0
	Yes (%)	83.1	85.7	30.1	61.3	76.8	79.1	41.6	85.1	69.2
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		1.0	66.0	94.0	3.0	23.0	24.0	3.0	214.0
	No (%)		1.4	32.8	95.0	42.9	12.0	36.9	1.5	25.7
	Yes		72.0	135.0	5.0	4.0	169.0	41.0	194.0	620.0
	Yes (%)		98.6	67.2	5.1	57.1	88.0	63.1	98.5	74.3
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tempo / Lorry / Car										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total

Total	No	266.0	265.0	339.0	324.0	314.0	231.0	204.0	256.0	2199.0
	No (%)	95.7	91.7	98.6	98.5	97.8	98.3	98.6	94.5	96.7
	Yes	12.0	24.0	5.0	5.0	7.0	4.0	3.0	15.0	75.0
	Yes (%)	4.3	8.3	1.5	1.5	2.2	1.7	1.5	5.5	3.3
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	266.0	200.0	139.0	227.0	307.0	41.0	141.0	67.0	1388.0
	No (%)	95.7	92.6	97.2	98.7	97.8	95.4	99.3	90.5	96.4
	Yes	12.0	16.0	4.0	3.0	7.0	2.0	1.0	7.0	52.0
	Yes (%)	4.3	7.4	2.8	1.3	2.2	4.7	0.7	9.5	3.6
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		65.0	200.0	97.0	7.0	190.0	63.0	189.0	811.0
	No (%)		89.0	99.5	98.0	100.0	99.0	96.9	95.9	97.2
	Yes		8.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	23.0
	Yes (%)		11.0	0.5	2.0	0.0	1.0	3.1	4.1	2.8
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Livestock										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	196.0	170.0	256.0	250.0	213.0	205.0	162.0	194.0	1646.0
	No (%)	70.5	58.8	74.4	76.0	66.4	87.2	78.3	71.6	72.4
	Yes	82.0	119.0	88.0	79.0	108.0	30.0	45.0	77.0	628.0
	Yes (%)	29.5	41.2	25.6	24.0	33.6	12.8	21.7	28.4	27.6
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	196.0	99.0	124.0	152.0	207.0	22.0	109.0	25.0	934.0
	No (%)	70.5	45.8	86.7	66.1	65.9	51.2	76.8	33.8	64.9
	Yes	82.0	117.0	19.0	78.0	107.0	21.0	33.0	49.0	506.0
	Yes (%)	29.5	54.2	13.3	33.9	34.1	48.8	23.2	66.2	35.1
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		71.0	132.0	98.0	6.0	183.0	53.0	169.0	712.0
	No (%)		97.3	65.7	99.0	85.7	95.3	81.5	85.8	85.4
	Yes		2.0	69.0	1.0	1.0	9.0	12.0	28.0	122.0
	Yes (%)		2.7	34.3	1.0	14.3	4.7	18.5	14.2	14.6
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Power tiller										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	264.0	258.0	340.0	326.0	314.0	228.0	205.0	264.0	2199.0
	No (%)	95.0	89.3	98.8	99.1	97.8	97.0	99.0	97.4	96.7

	Yes	14.0	31.0	4.0	3.0	7.0	7.0	2.0	7.0	75.0
	Yes (%)	5.0	10.7	1.2	0.9	2.2	3.0	1.0	2.6	3.3
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	264.0	187.0	140.0	227.0	307.0	36.0	140.0	69.0	1370.0
	No (%)	95.0	86.6	97.9	98.7	97.8	83.7	98.6	93.2	95.1
	Yes	14.0	29.0	3.0	3.0	7.0	7.0	2.0	5.0	70.0
	Yes (%)	5.0	13.4	2.1	1.3	2.2	16.3	1.4	6.8	4.9
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		71.0	200.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	195.0	829.0
	No (%)		97.3	99.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0	99.4
	Yes		2.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	5.0
	Yes (%)		2.7	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.6
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
General Agricultural implements										
		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	185.0	193.0	301.0	312.0	258.0	225.0	201.0	234.0	1909.0
	No (%)	66.6	66.8	87.5	94.8	80.4	95.7	97.1	86.4	84.0
	Yes	93.0	96.0	43.0	17.0	63.0	10.0	6.0	37.0	365.0
	Yes (%)	33.5	33.2	12.5	5.2	19.6	4.3	2.9	13.7	16.1
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	185.0	126.0	127.0	214.0	251.0	36.0	142.0	40.0	1121.0
	No (%)	66.6	58.3	88.8	93.0	79.9	83.7	100.0	54.1	77.9
	Yes	93.0	90.0	16.0	16.0	63.0	7.0	0.0	34.0	319.0
	Yes (%)	33.5	41.7	11.2	7.0	20.1	16.3	0.0	46.0	22.2
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		67.0	174.0	98.0	7.0	189.0	59.0	194.0	788.0
	No (%)		91.8	86.6	99.0	100.0	98.4	90.8	98.5	94.5
	Yes		6.0	27.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	6.0	3.0	46.0
	Yes (%)		8.2	13.4	1.0	0.0	1.6	9.2	1.5	5.5
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annexure 7.8 - Wealth Index of the households (rural + urban, data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Wealth Index***									
Poor	16.2	12.5	54.9	53.5	42.4	16.2	58.5	5.2	33.2

Middle	47.5	9.7	29.4	40.4	43.6	43.8	30.0	31.0	34.4
Rich	36.3	77.9	15.7	6.1	14.0	40.0	11.6	63.8	32.4

*** Chi Square test significant at 95% (m/f)

Annexure 7.9 - Wealth Index of the households (rural & urban, data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Wealth Index***	Rural								
Poor	16.2	16.7	86.0	38.3	41.7	14.0	74.7	16.2	38.0
Middle	47.5	12.5	10.5	53.0	44	39.5	24.7	32.4	35.4
Rich	36.3	70.8	3.5	8.7	14.3	46.5	0.7	51.4	26.6
	Urban								
Poor		0.0	32.8	88.9	71.4	16.7	23.1	1.0	24.9
Middle		1.4	42.8	11.1	28.6	44.8	41.5	30.5	32.7
Rich		98.6	24.4	0.0	0.0	38.5	35.4	68.5	42.3

*** Chi Square test significant at 95% (m/f)

LAND OWNERSHIP, HOUSING & ASSETS

Annexure 8.1 - Urban-rural differentials in % of households having possession of agricultural land

	Rural	Urban	Average
Bachhada	59.0	-	59
Bedia	64.8	6.9	50.2
Gadia Luhar	0.0	0.0	0
Kalbelia	32.6	1.0	23.1
Kanjar	50.6	14.3	49.8
Nat	48.8	0.5	9.4
Pardhi	12.7	47.7	23.7
Sansi	56.8	4.6	18.8
Total	43.0	5.8	29.3

Annexure 8.2 - Status of ownership of the DNT & NT houses

House	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own	98.2	98.6	89.0	72.6	92.2	88.5	99.5	99.3	91.6
On rent	1.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.9	5.1	0.0	0.4	1.1
Relatives/Neighbours	0.7	0.4	0.3	0	3.7	0.4	0	0	0.8
No house or residing	0	0	10.8	27.3	1.9	6	0	0.4	6.5
Temporarily in others	0	0.4	0	0	0.3	0	0.5	0	0.1

Annexure 8.3 - Type of houses (average of urban and rural)

Type of house	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
<i>Kutchha</i>	47.5	18.0	67.2	75.1	56.7	32.3	66.2	33.6	50.5
<i>Pakka</i>	52.5	82.0	23.8	24.9	43.0	67.7	33.8	66.4	48.1
No House	0.0	0.0	9.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4

Annexure 8.4 - Type of houses in rural and urban

			Bachhada	Bedia	Gadi Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	NAT	Sansi	Total
Rural	No house	N	0.0	0.0	16.0	8.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	25.0
		%	0.0	0.0	11.2	3.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.7
	Thatched hut	N	4.0	1.0	104.0	38.0	24.0	4.0	1.0	254.0
		%	1.4	0.5	72.7	16.5	7.6	9.3	1.4	17.6
	<i>Kutchha</i> house	N	128.0	51.0	11.0	104.0	154.0	10.0	33.0	521.0
		%	46.0	23.6	7.7	45.2	49.0	23.3	44.6	36.2
	<i>Pucca</i> house	N	146.0	164.0	12.0	80.0	135.0	29.0	40.0	640.0
		%	52.5	75.9	8.4	34.8	43.0	67.4	54.1	44.4
	Total	N	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	74.0	1440.0

		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No house	N		0.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0
		%		0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
	Thatched hut	N		0.0	78.0	97.0	4.0	28.0	2.0	221.0
		%		0.0	38.8	98.0	57.1	14.6	1.0	26.5
	Kutchha house	N		0.0	38.0	0.0	0.0	34.0	55.0	144.0
		%		0.0	18.9	0.0	0.0	17.7	27.9	17.3
	Pucca house	N		73.0	70.0	2.0	3.0	130.0	140.0	454.0
		%		100.0	34.8	2.0	42.9	67.7	71.1	54.4
	Total	N		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	197.0	834.0
		%		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annexure 8.5 - Source of drinking water (Rural + Urban)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Tube/Borewell	32.4	22.2	9.3	25.2	66.7	8.5	16.4	19.6	26.0
Piped water	15.5	66.1	56.4	15.8	25.2	77.0	57.0	66.1	45.7
Open source	51.1	11.8	8.4	10.6	6.9	10.6	20.8	5.5	15.2
Other	1.1	0.0	25.9	48.3	1.3	3.8	5.8	8.9	13.2

Annexure 8.6 - Urban-Rural differentials in drinking water accessibility.

	RURAL						
	Tube/ borewell	Open well	Spring/ stream	Piped water	Pond	Tanker	Other souce
Bachhada	32.4	51.1	0.0	15.5	0.0	0.0	1.1
Bedia	21.8	14.8	0.5	62.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Gadia Luhar	6.3	18.2	0.7	23.1	0.0	25.9	25.9
Kalbelia	33.5	15.2	0.0	22.2	0.0	0.4	28.7
Kanjar	68.2	5.7	1.3	24.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
Nat	30.2	48.8	0.0	20.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pardhi	4.9	25.4	2.1	62.7	0.0	4.9	0.0
Sansi	62.2	12.2	0.0	6.8	1.4	16.2	1.4
Total	34.9	22.2	0.6	30.7	0.1	4.0	7.4
	URBAN						
Bedia	23.3	0.0	0.0	76.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gadia Luhar	11.4	1.0	0.0	80.1	0.0	2.0	5.5
Kalbelia	6.1	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	92.9	0.0
Kanjar	0.0	0.0	0.0	57.1	0.0	0.0	42.9
Nat	3.7	2.1	0.0	89.6	0.0	0.0	4.7
Pardhi	41.5	4.6	1.5	44.6	0.0	4.6	3.1
Sansi	3.6	0.0	0.0	88.3	2.5	4.1	1.5
Total	10.4	1.1	0.1	71.6	0.6	12.8	3.4

Annexure 8.7 - Situation of the toilets (Rural + Urban, data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Toilet access									
Open defecation	73.7	13.5	69.2	96.4	69.8	40.4	70.1	17.0	57.6
Constructed	26.3	86.5	30.8	3.7	30.2	59.6	30.0	83.0	42.4

Annexure 8.8 - Situation of open defecation in Rural and Urban areas (data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Open defecation									
Rural	73.7	18.1	95.8	94.8	69.8	72.1	95.1	54.1	71.1
Urban	0.0	0.0	50.3	100	71.4	33.3	15.4	3.1	34.2

Annexure 8.9 - Situation of electricity in the village and its access to the DNT & NT households (rural + urban, data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Electricity in Village									
Yes	99.6	94.5	82.9	75.7	98.1	94.0	84.5	99.3	90.8
No	0.4	5.5	17.2	24.3	1.9	6.0	15.5	0.7	9.2
Electricity in House									
Yes	99.3	94.5	50.3	53.2	89.1	92.8	87.9	98.9	81.4
No	0.7	5.5	49.7	46.8	10.9	7.2	12.1	1.1	18.6

Annexure 8.10 - Percentage of households by social network (urban + rural, data in %)

Neighbourhood	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Own caste/tribe	99.6	99.3	86.3	99.1	96.6	97.9	94.2	100.0	96.4
Other caste/tribe	0.4	9.3	39.0	40.2	2.2	70.7	17.4	49.5	27.8
Segregated house	0.0	6.9	23.6	7.4	2.8	10.2	2.4	0.7	7.3
DNT settlement	0.0	5.5	11.3	21.7	43.6	28.0	8.7	25.1	18.3

Annexure 8.11 - Who are your neighbours by rural and urban areas (date in %)

			Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Sansi	Total
Rural	Own caste/tribe	N	277	215	139	227	303	43	74	1,409
		%	99.64	99.54	97.2	98.7	96.5	100	100	97.85
	Other caste/tribe	N	1	27	32	51	7	5	0	147
		%	0.36	12.5	22.38	22.27	2.23	15.15	0	10.29
	Segregated house	N	0	20	9	22	5	4	0	62
		%	0	9.26	6.29	10.48	1.59	12.12	0	4.4
	DNT settlement	N	0	16	35	66	140	3	43	312
		%	0	7.41	24.48	31.43	44.59	9.09	58.11	22.13
Urban		N	--	72	158	99	7	187	197	784

	Own caste/tribe	%	--	98.63	78.61	100	100	97.4	100	94
	Other caste/tribe	N	--	0	102	81	0	154	134	483
		%	--	0	50.75	81.82	0	80.21	68.02	57.91
	Segregated house	N	--	0	72	1	4	19	2	101
		%	--	0	35.82	1.01	57.14	9.9	1.02	12.11
	DNT settlement	N	--	0	4	1	0	60	25	99
		%	--	0	1.99	1.01	0	31.25	12.69	11.87

HEALTH FACILITIES

Annexure 10.1 - Percentage of households having access to Anganwadi (date in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Yes	87.8	98.3	81.7	58.7	86.3	64.7	78.3	67.5	78.1
No	12.2	0.7	17.4	41.0	13.4	27.7	19.3	32.1	20.5

Annexure 10.2 - Percentage of households having access to CHC/PHC (date in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Yes	56.1	90.7	90.4	83.9	73.8	65.1	75.9	83.4	78.2
No	43.9	9.3	9.6	16.1	26.2	34.9	24.2	16.6	21.8

Annexure 10.3 - Percentage of households who had anyone suffered from any illness in last 6 months:

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Rural	14.4	13.0	21.0	17.0	39.8	4.7	8.5	41.9	21.3
Urban		17.8	48.8	13.1	57.1	42.7	40.0	21.3	33.3
Total	14.4	14.2	37.2	15.8	40.2	35.7	18.4	26.9	25.3

Annexure 10.4 - Type of health facility accessed by the households (data in %):

Type of facility	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
CHC	10.3	6.8	5.6	7.7	8.8	0.0	5.0	10.1	6.8
Govt Hospital	12.8	25.0	65.9	38.5	35.0	73.8	12.5	24.1	35.6
Traditional Healer	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Private Nursing Home	76.9	65.9	26.2	51.9	51.1	26.2	77.5	65.8	55.5
Ayurvedic Practitioner	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.9	0.7	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.9
Any Other	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.5

Annexure 10.5 - Type of health facility accessed by the households in rural and urban areas (data in %):

		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Rural	CHC	10.3	10.7	11.1	10.3	9.0	0.0	7.1	17.1	10.4
	Govt Hospital	10.3	10.7	29.6	18.0	33.8	50.0	14.3	37.1	26.2
	Traditional Healer	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
	Private Nursing Home	76.9	75.0	51.9	69.2	48.9	50.0	78.6	45.7	58.4
	Ayurvedic Practitioner	0.0	3.6	0.0	2.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
	Any Other	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Urban	CHC		0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.6	2.5

	Govt Hospital		50.0	75.8	100.0	75.0	74.4	11.5	13.6	59.5
	Traditional Healer		0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
	Private Nursing Home		50.0	19.2	0.0	25.0	25.6	76.9	81.8	37.0
	Ayurvedic Practitioner		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.4
	Any Other		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.4

Annexure 10.6 - Need to stay at the health facility (data in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Yes	48.7	45.5	48.0	59.6	59.4	48.2	48.8	72.2	53.8

Annexure 10.7 - Treated differently at the health facility as compared to others:

		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	Yes	0	10	14	4	23	2	4	3	60
		0.0	24.4	11.0	7.5	17.7	2.3	10.3	4.3	10.2
	No	40	31	113	49	107	82	35	67	517
		100.0	75.6	89.0	92.5	82.3	95.3	89.7	95.7	88.2
	Total	40	41	127	53	130	86	39	70	586
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rural	Yes	0	4	2	4	23	2	2	1	36
		0.0	14.3	6.9	10.0	18.3	50.0	15.4	3.6	11.7
	No	40	24	27	36	103	2	11	27	263
		100	85.7	93.1	90.0	81.7	50.0	84.6	96.4	85.4
	Total	40	28	29	40	126	4	13	28	308
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Urban	Yes		6	12	0	0	2	2	2	24
			46.15	12.24	0	0	2.44	7.69	4.76	8.63
	No		7	86	13	4	80	24	40	254
			53.85	87.76	100	100	97.56	92.31	95.24	91.37
	Total		13	98	13	4	82	26	42	278
			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexure 10.8 - Need to pay for the treatment at the health facility:

	N/%	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	Yes N	35.0	33.0	72.0	33.0	90.0	50.0	36.0	58.0	407.0
	%	89.7	82.5	57.1	63.5	69.8	59.5	94.7	74.4	69.5

	No	N	4.0	6.0	20.0	15.0	17.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	67.0
		%	10.3	15.0	15.9	28.9	13.2	0.0	5.3	3.8	11.4
	Partly	N	0.0	1.0	34.0	4.0	22.0	34.0	0.0	17.0	112.0
		%	0.0	2.5	27.0	7.7	17.1	40.5	0.0	21.8	19.1
	Total	N	39.0	40.0	126.0	52.0	129.0	84.0	38.0	78.0	586.0
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	Yes	N	35.0	24.0	20.0	32.0	86.0	2.0	12.0	14.0	225.0
		%	89.7	88.9	71.4	82.1	68.8	100.0	100.0	45.2	74.3
	No	N	4.0	2.0	1.0	6.0	17.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	32.0
		%	10.3	7.4	3.6	15.4	13.6	0.0	0.0	6.5	10.6
	Partly	N	0.0	1.0	7.0	1.0	22.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	46.0
		%	0.0	3.7	25.0	2.6	17.6	0.0	0.0	48.4	15.2
	Total	N	39.0	27.0	28.0	39.0	125.0	2.0	12.0	31.0	303.0
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	Yes	N		9.0	52.0	1.0	4.0	48.0	24.0	44.0	182.0
		%		69.2	53.1	7.7	100.0	58.5	92.3	93.6	63.7
	No	N		4.0	19.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	35.0
		%		30.8	19.4	69.2	0.0	0.0	7.7	2.1	12.6
	Partly	N		0.0	27.0	3.0	0.0	34.0	0.0	2.0	66.0
		%		0.0	27.6	23.1	0.0	41.5	0.0	4.3	23.7
	Total	N		13.0	98.0	13.0	4.0	82.0	26.0	47.0	283.0
		%		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annexure 10.9 - Expenditure on treatment

Expenditure				Sample size		
Tribe	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Bachhada	20123	--	20123	40	--	40
Bedia	13375	6923	11329	28	13	41
Gadia Luhar	22983	4229	8624	30	98	128
Kalbelia	83705	192	62827	39	13	52
Kanjar	11462	4500	11247	125	4	129
Nat	9100	3626	3649	3	82	85
Pardhi	36458	26788	29842	12	26	38
Sansi	6194	16643	12205	31	42	73

MIGRATION

Annexure 11.1 - Percentage of households having the current stay as a native place:

Households having the current stay as a native place	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	97.8	98.6	84.3	98.5	85.7	91.9	72.5	97.4	91.3

Annexure 11.2 - Percentage of households who have migrated to the current place:

Households migrated to the current place	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	0.0	6.6	63.4	32.6	12.5	23.8	88.4	6.6	28.2

Annexure 11.3 - Reason of forced migration (data in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Displacement	0.0	45.2	50.0	2.5	24.6	4.3	79.5	29.6	35.8
Denial of access to forest resources	100.0	54.8	1.3	18.3	62.3	2.1	8.7	17.4	23.0
Denial of opportunity to pursue traditional occupation	0.0	0.0	19.4	59.9	6.3	72.3	8.7	32.7	26.3
Criminal cases/ intimidation by law enforcement agencies	0.0	0.0	29.3	9.4	6.3	19.2	2.6	20.4	12.7
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.9	0.5	2.1	0.5	0.0	2.1
Nos.	3	93	232	202	207	94	195	98	1,124

ISOLATION, MARGINALIZATION & DISCRIMINATION

Annexure 12.1 - Police visit to the community's locality (data in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	20.5	20.1	19.2	16.4	58.3	13.6	21.3	55.0	28.5
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	2,274

Annexure 12.2 - Approach Police to seek help (data in %):

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	11.5	10.4	5.5	12.8	46.4	2.1	23.2	24.4	17.2
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	391

Annexure 12.3 - Help received from the Police:

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
No	9	8	13	32	131	2	35	16	246
	28.1	26.7	68.4	76.2	87.9	40.0	72.9	24.2	62.9
Yes	23	22	6	10	18	3	13	50	145
	71.9	73.3	31.6	23.8	12.1	60.0	27.1	75.8	37.1
Total	32	30	19	42	149	5	48	66	391
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexure 12.4 - Asked to pay bribe by the police officials:

Yes	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	1.8	13.2	0.9	3.3	44.2	0.4	21.7	7.8	11.7
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	267

Annexure 12.5 - Have ever met the Lawyer:

		Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
Total	No	190.0	267.0	249.0	263.0	197.0	171.0	173.0	106.0	1616.0
	No (%)	68.4	92.4	72.4	79.9	61.4	72.8	83.6	39.1	71.1
	Yes	88.0	22.0	95.0	66.0	124.0	64.0	34.0	165.0	658.0
	Yes (%)	31.7	7.6	27.6	20.1	38.6	27.2	16.4	60.9	28.9
	Total	278.0	289.0	344.0	329.0	321.0	235.0	207.0	271.0	2274.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural	No	190.0	202.0	137.0	192.0	192.0	39.0	140.0	42.0	1134.0
	No (%)	68.4	93.5	95.8	83.5	61.2	90.7	98.6	56.8	78.8

	Yes	88.0	14.0	6.0	38.0	122.0	4.0	2.0	32.0	306.0
	Yes (%)	31.7	6.5	4.2	16.5	38.9	9.3	1.4	43.2	21.3
	Total	278.0	216.0	143.0	230.0	314.0	43.0	142.0	74.0	1440.0
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	No		65.0	112.0	71.0	5.0	132.0	33.0	64.0	482.0
	No (%)		89.0	55.7	71.7	71.4	68.8	50.8	32.5	57.8
	Yes		8.0	89.0	28.0	2.0	60.0	32.0	133.0	352.0
	Yes (%)		11.0	44.3	28.3	28.6	31.3	49.2	67.5	42.2
	Total		73.0	201.0	99.0	7.0	192.0	65.0	197.0	834.0
	Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Annexure 12.6 - Court visit for family cases (data in %)

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	11.9	4.5	14.0	9.1	15.9	7.7	9.2	11.8	10.7
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	244

Annexure 12.7 - Percentage of criminal cases in the family:

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia_Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	10.8	12.1	0.0	14.9	18.7	0.0	15.0	6.3	9.8
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	223

Annexure 12.8 - Percentage of arrest and detention:

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	9.0	11.8	3.5	9.4	43.9	0.0	17.4	12.6	13.8
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	314

Annexure 12.9 - Harassment by the police

	Bachhada	Bedia	Gadia Luhar	Kalbelia	Kanjar	Nat	Pardhi	Sansi	Total
%	18.4	9.3	20.6	7.6	50.5	6.4	64.7	17.3	23.4
N	278	289	344	329	321	235	207	271	532

PHOTOGRAPHS

Picture 1 - Interview and video documentation of the Bedia community members in Sundar Colony, Dholpur, Rajasthan (2nd April, 2019).



Picture 2 - *Left:* Meeting at Muskaan, Bhopal for discussion of the sample survey (8th July 2019). *Right:* Orientation and capacity building meeting of the participating NGOs at Bhasha's Office, Vadodara (21st June 2019).



Picture 3 - *Left and Right:* Data review and orientation meeting held at Adivasi Academy Tejgadh (Gujarat) with the surveyors and coordinators of partner organizations. Date 11th & 12th November 2019.



Picture 4 - *Left and Right:* Review and orientation meeting with the surveyors and coordinators of partner organizations. Experts from the field were also invited for orientation. Date 9th & 10th January 2020.





Picture 5 - Visit to the Bedia community villages in Morena (MP) and Dholpur (Rajasthan) by the Project Coordinator Dr. Madan Meena. Date 24th and 25th July 2021.




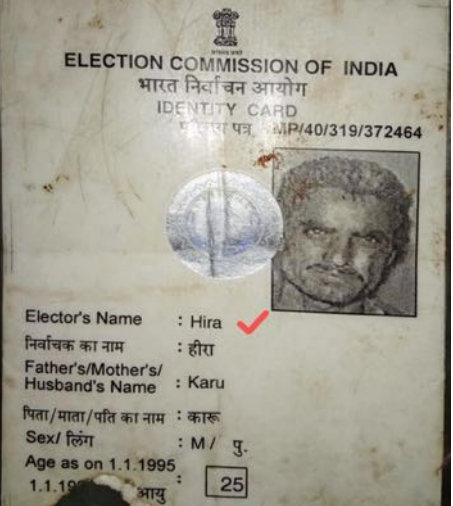
Picture 6 - Visit to the Madari (Kalbelia) community at Garudiyo Tekaro, Ramol, Behind Express Highway, Ahmedabad, Gujarat with the NID professors Erroll Pires and Jogi Pangal and student Shubhra (27th Sept. 2021).




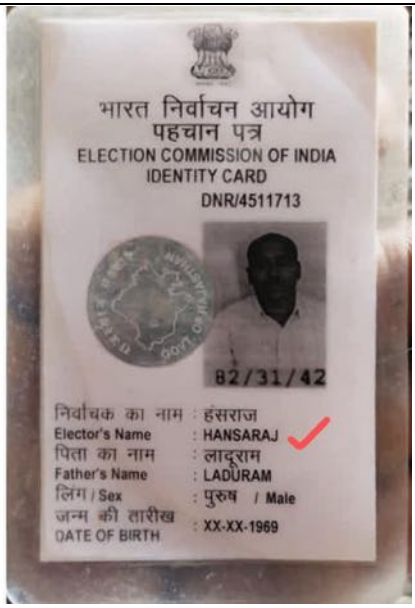
Picture 7 - ID documents showing error in name of a Sansi (Dabgar) man from Gujarat.

 <p>UC 01566590 3 IN Ref No.:H2B3E9X-1566590</p> <p>आपका आधार क्रमांक / Your Aadhaar No. : 3131 2234 3263</p> <p>आधार — आम आदमी का अधिकार</p> <p>भारत सरकार GOVERNMENT OF INDIA</p> <p>श्याम्भाई मरवादिदुबगर Shyambhai Marwadidubgar ✓</p> <p>जन्म वर्ष / Year of Birth : 1981 पुरुष / Male</p> <p>3131 2234 3263</p> <p>आधार — आम आदमी का अधिकार</p>	 <p>भारत निर्वाचन आयोग ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA IDENTITY CARD RIQ1646835</p> <p>मतदाता नाम : मरवादिदुबगर श्याम्भाई ✓ Elector's Name : Marwadidubgar Shyambhai ✓</p> <p>पिता नाम : किशनलालभाई Father's Name : Kishnailalbhai</p> <p>लिंग / Sex : पुरुष / Male जन्म तारीख / Date of Birth : XX/XX/1981</p>
Adhar Card	Voter ID
<p>The sequence of the first name and second name has changed. This will disqualify the document. Also the name in Hindi and Gujarat are different</p>	



Picture 8 - ID documents showing error in name of a Bachhada man from MP.

 <p>भारत सरकार GOVERNMENT OF INDIA</p> <p>हीरा लाल बाचडा Heera Lal Babachada ✓</p> <p>जन्म तिथि/ DOB: 01/01/1972 पुरुष / MALE</p> <p>2948 6038 7079</p> <p>मेरा आधार, मेरी पहचान</p>	 <p>ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA भारत निर्वाचन आयोग IDENTITY CARD MP/40/319/372464</p> <p>मतदाता नाम : हीरा ✓ Elector's Name : Hira ✓</p> <p>निर्वाचक का नाम : हीरा Father's/Mother's/ Husband's Name : Karu</p> <p>पिता/माता/पति का नाम : कारु Sex/ लिंग : M / पु. Age as on 1.1.1995 : 25 1.1.1995 आयु : 25</p>
Adhar Card	Voter ID
<p>Adhar Card has complete name with the surname while Voter ID has only first name mentioned on it.</p>	

Picture 9 - ID documents showing error in name of a Kanjar man from Rajasthan.

 <p>भारत सरकार Government of India</p> <p>हंसराज कंजर Hansraj Kanjar ✓ जन्म तिथि/DOB: 01/07/1967 पुरुष/ MALE</p> <p>Issue Date: 10/06/2020</p> <p>9223 1987 8152 VID : 9122 0464 0669 4608</p> <p>मेरा आधार, मेरी पहचान</p>	 <p>भारत निर्वाचन आयोग पहचान पत्र ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA IDENTITY CARD DNR/4511713</p> <p>निर्वाचक का नाम : हंसराज Elector's Name : HANSARAJ ✓ पिता का नाम : लादुराम Father's Name : LADURAM लिंग / Sex : पुरुष / Male जन्म की तारीख : XX-XX-1969 DATE OF BIRTH</p>
Adhar Card	Voter ID
<p>Adhar Card has name with the surname while Voter ID card has only name. The spelling of the first name doesn't match.</p>	

Picture 10 - ID documents showing error in name of a Bachhada woman.

 <p>भारत सरकार GOVERNMENT OF INDIA</p> <p>सायरा बाई Sayra Bai ✓ जन्म वर्ष/YoB:1970 महिला Female</p> <p>9767 3761 5036</p> <p>आधार - आम आदमी का अधिकार</p>	 <p>भारत निर्वाचन आयोग पहचान पत्र ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA IDENTITY CARD IYY/0975524</p> <p>निर्वाचक का नाम : साईरा Elector's Name : SAIRA ✓ पति का नाम : श्याजी Husband's Name : SHYAJI लिंग / Sex : स्त्री / Female जन्म की तारीख : xx/xx/1972 Date of Birth</p>
Adhar Card	Voter ID
<p>Adhar Card has a long while Voter ID card has a shorter version. Spelling of both the names doesn't match.</p>	

Picture 11 - News published in different newspapers on 21.09.2020 regarding the representation given by the Kanjar community of Berasiya Tehsil (Bhopal, MP) to issue them caste certificates under the SC category. In Madhya Pradesh, Bijori/Kanjar caste is recognized under the SC reservation category but those of Berasiya Tehsil have been fighting hard to get one.

कंजर जाति को अनुसूची में करेंगे शामिल: मंत्री मीना सिंह

बैरसिया में स्वसहायता समूहों को ऋण वितरण कार्यक्रम में शामिल हुई सुश्री सिंह

गोपाल » सिटी रिपोर्टर

आदिम जाति और अनुसूचित जाति कल्याण मंत्री सुश्री मीना सिंह ने कहा है कि भोपाल जिले के बैरसिया की कंजर जाति को अनुसूची में शामिल करने के लिए प्रक्रिया चल रही है और पात्र पाए जाने पर अनुसूची में लिया जाएगा। मंत्री सुश्री सिंह रविवार को बैरसिया में क्रेडिट कैप में स्वसहायता समूह को ऋण वितरण कार्यक्रम को संबोधित कर रही थीं। स्थानीय विधायक विष्णु खत्री भी इस अवसर पर उपस्थित थे।

मंत्री सुश्री सिंह ने यहाँ 165 स्वसहायता समूहों को एक करोड़ 70 लाख रुपये के ऋण स्वीकृति पत्र प्रदान किये। उन्होंने कहा कि राज्य सरकार का मूल मंत्र है, 'सशक्त महिलाएं सशक्त मध्यप्रदेश'। उन्होंने कहा कि उनकी सरकार के 15 वर्षों में महिलाएं चौका चूल्हा और घूंघट से निकलकर घर-परिवार के साथ समाज और देश प्रदेश के विकास में सहभागी बनी हैं। सुश्री सिंह ने कहा कि स्वसहायता समूह से जुड़कर आज प्रदेश के लाखों गांव में महिलाओं ने नए नए कामकाज शुरू



कर न केवल स्वयं को सशक्त किया है समाज को भी सम्बल प्रदान किया है। आदिम जाति कल्याण मंत्री ने कहा कि राज्य सरकार के आजीविका मिशन के क्रियाकलापों से समाज की महिलाओं के प्रति सोच में बड़ा बदलाव आया है और पुरुषों ने आधी आबादी के सहयोग को प्रोत्साहित करना शुरू किया है। उन्होंने कहा कि मुख्यमंत्री श्री शिवराज सिंह चौहान अपनी बहनों और बेटियों के विकास के लिए लगातार योजनाओं का क्रियान्वयन करते रहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि बैरसिया के अब तक 20 हजार परिवार इन समूहों से जुड़े हैं, शेष 10 हजार परिवार को भी स्वसहायता

समूह से जोड़कर महिलाओं को आत्मनिर्भर बनाएं।

बाद में मंत्री सुश्री मीना सिंह ने प्रतीकात्मक रूप से 25 स्वसहायता समूहों को एक एक लाख के ऋण स्वीकृति पत्र भेंट किए। इस अवसर पर विधायक श्री खत्री ने कहा कि समूहों के उत्पादों के विक्रय के लिए जल्दी ही एक एकड़ क्षेत्र में हाट बाजार विकसित किया जाएगा। इस अवसर पर जनपद हाल में लगाये गए स्क्रीन पर मंत्री सुश्री सिंह सहित महिलाओं ने राज्यस्तरीय समारोह में सम्मिलित होकर मुख्यमंत्री के उद्बोधन और सफल महिलाओं की कहानियां भी सुनीं।

Picture 12 - Members of Kalbelia arrested by Chittorgarh (Rajasthan) police addressed at 'Interstate Kalbelia Gang' in Dainik Bhaskar newspaper, dated 17.09.2020 (above) and 18.09.2020 (below). The news was written on the basis of press note released by Superintendent of Police, Chittorgarh.



चित्तौड़गढ़ भास्कर 17-09-2020

रैकी करते फिर घरों में घुसकर लूटते, बूंदी, अलवर व एमपी में भी वारदात, 25 लाख का माल बरामद अंतरराज्यीय कालबेलिया गैंग के सरगना सहित 5 आरोपी गिरफ्तार, हत्या, डकैती व चोरी की 25 वारदात कबूली

भास्कर संवाददाता | चित्तौड़गढ़/कपासन

पुलिस ने अंतरराज्यीय कालबेलिया गैंग के इनामी सरगना सहित पांच आरोपियों को गिरफ्तार किया। आरोपियों ने जिले सहित बूंदी, अलवर व मध्यप्रदेश के सिंगोली में करीब 25 वारदात करना कबूल किया। गैंग से जुड़े आरोपी पहले रैकी करते फिर रात में घरों में घुसकर लूट, हत्या, डकैती व चोरी की वारदात करते। आरोपियों की निशानदेही पर करीब 25 लाख का माल भी बरामद किया गया।

कलेक्ट्रेट स्थित डीआरडीए हॉल में एसपी दीपक भागव ने गैंग को कपासन पुलिस द्वारा पकड़ने का खुलासा किया। कपासन थाना सीआई हिमांशुसिंह को विशेष टीम गठित कर अनुसूची वारदातों को खोलने व आरोपियों को गिरफ्तारी के लिए निर्दिष्ट किया। कांस्टेबल रतनलाल ने सीआई हिमांशुसिंह को थाने के लूट व हत्या में बांछित एक हजार रुपए का इनामी बदमाश दिनेश उर्फ मोडिया कालबेलिया के टोडारासिंह जिला टोक के जंगल में होने की सूचना दी। टीम को वहां भेजा।

गहने लूट का विरोध करने पर हमला कर जान तक ले लेते हैं



एसपी भागव ने बताया कि आरोपी गिरोह बनाकर रैकी कर उस स्थान के पास एकत्र हो जाते थे। घर या स्थान को लूटने के लिए चयन करते। कुछ सदस्यों को घर के अंदर उतार कर या मुख्य द्वार से घुसकर शेष सभी सदस्यों को अंदर बुला लेते थे। महिलाओं के आभूषण मारपीट कर खुलवाते हैं। चाकू से काटकर लूट लेते हैं। जाग होने या हल्ला करने पर हमला कर देते हैं।

दिनेश उर्फ मोडिया को पकड़कर कपासन भेजा। प्रारंभिक पूछताछ में एक मामले में वृद्ध को अल सुबह रोड पर जाते सिर में लट्टु से वार कर घायल कर मुर्किया छिनना

अलवर और एमपी में छह वारदात की... बूंदी के पुराना बाइपास रास्ते पर आरोपियों ने शराब ठेके पर हमला कर एक व्यक्ति की हत्या कर नकदी व शराब चोरी करना कबूल किया। अलवर के टपुकड़ा और एमपी में सिंगोली में छह वारदात कबूल की। एसपी दीपक भागव, एसपी सरितासिंह व सीआई ने कांस्टेबल रतनलाल की होशाला अफजाई की।

टीम ने रमेश उर्फ काकुडिया को भी डिटेल किया। दोनों आरोपियों से पूछताछ करने पर दोनों ने साथियों पण्डिया, पिरिया उर्फ रतन, मदन उर्फ रतन, मुकेश, कालिया उर्फ कल्लू, गणपतिया, चकोला, आनंदिया, शिव लोहरा, कैलाश, रतन राठौड़, करण, सुरेश आदि के साथ चित्तौड़गढ़ जिले में 19 वारदात कपासन, चंदेरिया, भादसोड़ा, राशमी, रावतभाटा में करना कबूल किया। पुलिस ने मादलिया, मुर्लिया, रामनामी, नथ, पायजब, कडिया आदि बरामद करने प्रयास किए। चोरी व लूट के आभूषण खरीदने वालों पर भी कार्रवाई कर गिरफ्तार किया जाएगा।

लूट, चोरी और हत्या के गिरोह से पूछताछ जारी, एक आरोपी को दो दिन पुलिस रिमांड पर भेजा

कालबेलिया समाज ने जाति के नाम से गिरोह प्रचारित करने पर जताई कड़ी आपत्ति

भास्कर न्यूज़ | चित्तौड़गढ़/कपासन

समाज के स्वाभिमान को ठेस पहुंचती है

चोरी, लूट व हत्या जैसे कई संगीन के मामलों में गिरफ्तार आरोपियों से पुलिस पूछताछ जारी है। एक आरोपी को कोर्ट ने 19 सितंबर तक पीसी रिमांड पर सीधा है। जबकि पहले से रिमांड पर चल रहे चार आरोपियों को शुक्रवार को न्यायालय में पेश किया जाएगा। इधर, इस कार्रवाई में पुलिस और मोडिया ने कालबेलिया गिरोह बताने पर समाज ने एतज जताया।

जिले की कपासन पुलिस ने लूट, चोरी व हत्या के एक अन्तराज्यीय गिरोह का पर्दाफाश कर पांच बदमाशों को गिरफ्तार किया था। दिनेश उर्फ मोडिया, रमेश उर्फ काकुडिया, पण्डिया व मदन पहले से पीसी रिमांड पर थे। रिमाण्ड

अपराधी की कोई जाति नहीं होती है। कालबेलिया समाज ऐसे उपद्रवियों का बहिष्कार करते हैं। चोरी, या अन्य कुकृत्य करना बाधित है। भीख मांगकर खा लेंगे, लेकिन चोरी करना हमारे गुरु कानिफनाथ के खिलाफ है। लोग हमें कैसे भी हौन भावना से देखते हैं। समाज को शिक्षा की ओर अग्रसर करने व नैतिक कार्य करने के लिए प्रेरित करने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है। -राज सोलंकी सादड़ी, पाली

अर्वाध शुक्रवार को समाप्त होने पर इन्हें कोर्ट में पेश किया जाएगा। प्रोडक्शन वारंट से गिरफ्तार पिरिया को न्यायालय ने 19 सितंबर तक पीसी रिमांड पर दिया है। दूसरी ओर इन आरोपियों को कालबेलिया गिरोह के रूप में इंगित करने पर समाज ने रोष जताते हुए कहा कि इससे समाज की बदनामी होती है। ऑल

इंडिया विमुक्त जाति चैरिटेबल फाउण्डेशन रजिस्टर्ड के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष प्रेमप्रकाश बोंड ने कहा कि अपराधी की कोई जाति, धर्म नहीं है। वह किसी भी धर्म, जाति समाज का हो सकता है। कालबेलिया जाति का बड़ा हिस्सा अब समाज मुख्यधारा से जुड़कर कई कुरीतियों और सामाजिक, अपराधिक बुराइयों

आजादी के बाद भी विमुक्त धर्मतु अर्द्ध धर्मतु (डीएनटी) जातियों को अपराधिक मामलों में गिरोह गैंग आदि लगाकर पेश करने से समाज के स्वाभिमान को ठेस पहुंचती है। इससे डीएनटी समुदाय में आक्रोश है। हमारी गिरफ्तार आरोपियों से कोई सहानुभूति नहीं है पर उनको जाति विशेष के नाम से गिरोह बताना उचित नहीं है। उच्चतम न्यायालय ने जातीय गिरोह, गैंग शब्दों पर पाबंदी लगा रखी है। भविष्य में ऐसा हुआ तो आंदोलन करेंगे - गोपाल केसावत मेवाड़, संस्थापक अध्यक्ष डीएनटी महासभा ऑफ इंडिया

का त्याग कर चुका है। समाज के लिए लंबे समय से संघर्षरत पाली निवासी राज सोलंकी और पूर्व मंत्री गोपाल केसावत मेवाड़ ने इस मामले में एसपी से भी बात कर पुलिस और मोडिया द्वारा गिरोह को समाज के नाम से प्रचारित करने पर एतज जताया। आगे से सुधार की अपेक्षा जताई।

Picture 13 - News published in The Wire on date 13th December 2017 regarding the continuous stigmatization of the Pardhi community by Police. For complete news read at - <https://thewire.in/politics/polices-continued-victimisation-denotified-tribal-communities-can-no-longer-go-unchallenged>

POLITICS

Police's Continued Victimisation of 'Denotified' Tribal Communities Can No Longer Go Unchallenged

Years of stigmatisation and harassment have pushed members of the Pardhi and other Adivasi communities in Bhopal to come together and protest police impunity.



Sujata Gothoskar



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Denotified tribes of India. Credit: Dakxin Bajrange/Youtube

Fed up with police harassment, Indramal Bai **committed suicide** in the Gandhi Nagar *basti* of Bhopal on November 20, 2017. Nothing has changed over the last decade since Tanti Bai, a 14 year old, committed suicide for the very same reason on January 19, 2007. Both were poor waste pickers from the Pardhi community, one of the 150 'denotified tribes' (DNT) in India, comprising almost 10% of the country's population.

A survey conducted a year ago in the bastis of Bhopal among 189 Pardhi families found that 25 people of all ages had committed suicide, most of them due to harassment by the police. There may have been many more suicides which have gone unreported for fear of the very police that drove them to it.

The Pardhis may have been formally denotified, but they continue to be stigmatised and treated by the police as a 'criminal tribe'. They are blamed whenever any crime takes place, and often harassed even if there is no crime. The question is whether all these deaths should be considered suicides or institutional murders.

Highlighting this state of affairs, from December 5 to December 10 (International Human Rights Day), members of the Pardhi community set up base in Roshanpura, the central square in Bhopal, to **protest against** the victimisation of their community. They were joined by other Adivasis living in Bhopal's bastis.

Indramal Bai's 'crime': To attend the collector's *jan sunwai* and complain of police

Picture 14 - News published (15.01.2021) regarding deaths due to consumption of spurious country liquor made by the Kanjar community in Bharatpur. When such cases occurs police start raiding and destroy indigenous distilleries in villages of the DNT & NT communities involved in this profession. (For complete news read - <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/7-die-in-rajasthans-bharatpur-after-drinking-spurious-liquor-7146713/>) Soon after the deaths, raids were conducted at many places in Rajasthan. Distilleries in the Kanjar & Sansi villages were destroyed and cases were registered.

Home / India / 7 die in Rajasthan's Bharatpur after drinking spurious liquor

7 die in Rajasthan's Bharatpur after drinking spurious liquor

A government release said that the Chief Minister has directed the divisional commissioner, Bharatpur to investigate the reasons and other factors which led to the tragedy.

By: Express News Service | Jaipur |
January 15, 2021 3:26:19 am



According to the officials, four people died of methyl alcohol poisoning on Tuesday night and Wednesday while three more people passed away by the early hours of Thursday.

Seven persons died in Rajasthan's Bharatpur district over a period of three days while several others were undergoing treatment in hospital after consuming illegally brewed spurious liquor, officials said on Thursday.

According to the officials, four people died of methyl alcohol poisoning on Tuesday night and Wednesday while three more people passed away by the early hours of Thursday.

LIVE BLOG

French Open 2021 Men's Final, Novak Djokovic vs Stefanos Tsitsipas Live Score: Tsitsipas leads 7-6, 6-2

1 hour ago

Coronavirus India Live Updates: Tamil Nadu announces more relaxations; Assam govt asks fully vaccinated employees to join office

1 hour ago

India Monsoon Live Updates: Southwest monsoon covers nearly 80% of country's geographical area

2 hours ago

10 लीटर हथकढ़ शराब जब्त, एक दर्जन भट्टियों की नष्ट



संदेश न्यूज। बारां.

जिला पुलिस अधीक्षक बारां विनीत कुमार बंसल ने बताया कि ग्राम बटावदापार कंजर बस्ती में कुछ परिवारों द्वारा हथकढ़ शराब बनाए जाने व चोरी छिपे आस-पास के गांवों में विक्रय करने की सूचना पर पुलिस व आबकारी विभाग की एक संयुक्त टीम का गठन किया जाकर संयुक्त टीम ने पूर्व में चिन्हित किए गए स्थानों व रास्तों पर टीमों लगाई जाकर टीम द्वारा ग्राम बटावदापार कंजर बस्ती

में दबिश दी गई।

पुलिस व आबकारी विभाग की टीम द्वारा हथकढ़ शराब बनाने के लिये प्रयुक्त एक दर्जन भट्टियों को नष्ट किया गया तथा भट्टियों के आस-पास जमीन में ड्रम एवं टंकियों को गाढ़कर छुपाए हुए दो हजार लीटर वांश को नष्ट किया गया। आबकारी विभाग द्वारा एक प्रकरण आबकारी एक्ट के तहत दर्ज किया गया, एक प्रकरण थाना बापचा पर दर्ज किया गया व 10 लीटर अवैध हथकढ़ शराब जब्त की गई।

Picture 15, Part-2 of the above news



Picture 16 - News published in Dainik Bhaskar dated 07.01.2021 regarding the abduction of Kanjar women and children from their *dera* (camp) in village Kalasiya of Madhya Pradesh. Their camp was attacked by 100 armed persons of dominant caste in the region. When they could not find the Kanjar men for whom they came to search, they kidnapped the women and children from the camp.



झालावाड़ भास्कर 07-01-2021

बड़ी वारदात • बामनदेवरिया व हाजड़िया का मामला, चोरी की वारदातों के संदेह में किया अपहरण

100 बदमाशों ने 10 महिलाओं, 20 किशोरियों और 8 बच्चों का किया अपहरण, 6 गिरफ्तार

उन्हेल थाने की पुलिस फरार 94 आरोपियों की तलाश कर रही है

भास्कर न्यूज़/उन्हेल

मध्यप्रदेश के कलसिया गांव से आए करीब 100 लोगों ने चोरी के संदेह में हथियारों के बल पर थाना क्षेत्र के बामनदेवरिया व हाजड़िया में डेरों में रह रहे परिवारों की महिलाओं व बच्चों सहित 38 जनों का अपहरण कर लिया। कलसिया गांव के यह लोग चोरी की वारदातों के संदेह में इन परिवारों के पुरुषों को उठाने आए थे, लेकिन जब वे डेरों पर नहीं मिले तो यह लोग 10 महिलाओं व 20 किशोरियों सहित 8 बच्चों को उठाकर ले गए।

सूचना मिलने पर उन्हेल पुलिस मौके पर पहुंची और भाग रहे अपहरणकर्ताओं का पीछा किया। इधर, पुलिस को पीछा करते देख आरोपी महिलाओं व बच्चों सहित सभी 38 जनों को आलोट थाना में छोड़कर फरार हो गए। बाद में पुलिस ने तत्परता से कार्रवाई करते हुए छह लोगों को हथियारों के साथ गिरफ्तार कर लिया है। वहीं शेष 94 आरोपियों की तलाश की जा रही है। बाद में उन्हेल पुलिस एमपी के आलोट थाने पहुंची और सभी अपहृत की गई महिला और किशोरियों सहित बच्चों को सकुशल लेकर उन्हेल पहुंची।



पुलिस को पीछा करते देख इन महिलाओं-किशोरियों और बच्चों को आलोट थाने में छोड़ गए थे आरोपी।



झालावाड़. उन्हेल पुलिस की गिरफ्त में अपहरण के आरोपी।

पीड़ितों की ओर से पुलिस को कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं दी गई

हालांकि पीड़ितों की ओर से इस मामले में पुलिस को कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं दी गई है, लेकिन पुलिस ने आगे इस तरह की घटना नहीं हो, इसको देखते हुए सख्ती से अपनी ओर से 6 नामजद आरोपियों सहित 94 अज्ञात लोगों के खिलाफ मामला दर्ज किया है।

यह छह आरोपी गिरफ्तार, हथियार भी किए बरामद

पुलिस ने अपहरण के मामले में 100 में से 6 आरोपियों को गिरफ्तार कर इनके कब्जे से हथियार भी बरामद किए हैं। पुलिस ने मध्यप्रदेश आलोट थाना क्षेत्र के कलसिया निवासी सुरेश सिंह उर्फ सूरजसिंह पुत्र तूफानसिंह सौंधिया, बहादुरसिंह पुत्र चतरसिंह सौंधिया, सुरेन्द्रसिंह पुत्र संग्रामसिंह सौंधिया, महेन्द्रसिंह पुत्र मानसिंह सौंधिया, नारायणसिंह पुत्र चतरसिंह सौंधिया, गुमानसिंह पुत्र जवानसिंह सौंधिया को गिरफ्तार किया है। इनके कब्जे से एक देशी कट्टा, 12 बोर दो जिंदा कारतूस, एक धारदार तलवार, एक बाइक, चैन, दो लोहे की प्लेटें और कार बरामद की है।

बस, कार और बाइक

लेकर आए थे आरोपी: एसपी डॉ. किरण कंग सिंह ने बताया कि बामन देवरिया व हाजड़िया गांव के डेरों में रहने वाले लोगों पर चोरी की वारदातों के संदेह में आरोपियों ने यह कार्रवाई की। उन्होंने बताया कि चोरी की वारदातों से परेशान होकर मध्यप्रदेश कलसिया गांव के करीब 100 लोग बस, कार व बाइकों से बुधवार को इन लोगों के डेरों में पहुंचे। यहां जब उन्हें पुरुष नहीं मिले तो वे उनकी महिलाओं व बच्चों को उठाकर ले जाने लगे। महिला व बच्चों के अपहरण की सूचना मिलने पर तुरंत उन्हेल थानाधिकारी भंवरसिंह मौके पर पहुंचे। पुलिस को देखकर आरोपी बाइक, कार व बस में बैठकर भागने लगे, लेकिन तब तक इन लोगों ने महिलाओं व बच्चों को बस में बिठा लिया था। इनका पीछा करते हुए पुलिस मध्यप्रदेश के आलोट तक पहुंची। इधर, पुलिस को पीछा करते देख आरोपी 10 महिलाओं, 20 किशोरियों व 8 बच्चों को आलोट थाना में उतार कर भागने में सफल हो गए। बाद में स्थानीय पुलिस आलोट थाने पहुंची और वहां से सभी को लेकर उन्हेल लौट आई। बाद में पुलिस ने इस मामले में छह आरोपियों को हथियारों सहित गिरफ्तार कर लिया, जबकि 100 लोगों के खिलाफ मामला दर्ज किया है।

Picture 16, Part-2 of the above case:

To protest against the arrest of the abductors (dominant farmer community) by the Police, the local politicians and farmers protested against the administration to build pressure against the Kanjar community.

महिलाओं व बच्चों के अपहरण का मामला दूसरे दिन भी फरार 94 आरोपियों में से एक का भी नहीं लगा सुराग

भास्कर न्यूज़ | उन्हाल

थाना क्षेत्र के वामन देवरिया व हजड़िया डेरों में बुधवार को 100 से अधिक लोगों ने बंदूक व धारदार हथियारों के बल पर 38 महिलाओं व बच्चों का अपहरण कर लिया था। इस मामले में दूसरे दिन गुरुवार को राजस्थान व मध्यप्रदेश की पुलिस ने संयुक्त रूप से आरोपियों के गांव में दबिश दी, लेकिन उनका सुराग नहीं लगा। इधर, इस मामले में गिरफ्तार छह आरोपियों को गुरुवार को कोर्ट में पेश किया, जहां से उनको छह दिन के पुलिस रिमांड पर दिया है। एक साथ 38 महिलाओं और बच्चों को अपहरण की घटना को पुलिस ने गंभीरता से लिया है। संगीन धाराओं में मामला दर्ज करने के बाद शेष 94 अपहरणकर्ताओं की गिरफ्तारी के लिए पुलिस ने तीन टीमें गठित की है। एसपी राजेश यादव भी बुधवार शाम से वामन देवरिया में कैप किए हुए हैं। झालावाड़ से अतिरिक्त जाबता बुलाकर तीन टीमें बनाई गई हैं जो अलग-अलग स्थानों पर दबिश दे रही है। गुरुवार को एसपी यादव के नेतृत्व में शेष रहे आरोपियों की धरपकड़ के लिए उन्हाल थानाधिकारी भंवरसिंह



उन्हाल, मध्यप्रदेश के कलसिया गांव में दबिश देती पुलिस।

गुर्जर, आलोट एसडीओपी बीआर सोलंकी, आलोट थानाधिकारी दीपक शेजवार के नेतृत्व में पुलिस ने आरोपियों की गिरफ्तारी के लिए मध्यप्रदेश के आलोट थाने के गांव कलसिया में दबिश दी, लेकिन गांव में कोई भी आरोपी नहीं मिला।

■ वामनदेवरिया व हजड़िया डेरों में बुधवार को हुई घटना के बाद फरार हुए लोगों की गिरफ्तारी के प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं। तीन टीमें गठित की गई हैं। पहली टीम उन्हाल एसएचओ भंवरसिंह गुर्जर, दूसरी टीम हैडकांस्टेबल नाथलाल व तीसरी टीम एसआई त्रिलोकचंद के नेतृत्व में बनाई गई है। शेष आरोपियों को भी शीघ्र ही गिरफ्तार कर लिया जाएगा।

— राजेश यादव, एसपी, झालावाड़

कंजर आतंक: पुलिस की नाकामी पर उबला आलोट...थाना घेरा

भाजपा और कांग्रेस ने भी राजनीति से उपर उठकर पुलिस को आड़े हाथों लिया, हजारों किसान बोले अब कंजर आतंक के खात्मे तक हम चुप नहीं बैठेंगे

रतलाम/आलोट। अपनी मेहनत की कमाई पर कंजरो की अविध वसूली और उस पर पुलिस की चुप्पी से नाराज आलोट क्षेत्र के ग्रामीणों और किसानों ने कल आलोट में अब तक का सबसे बड़ा प्रदर्शन किया। इस प्रदर्शन के दौरान किसान आक्रोश में उबल रहे थे और एक ही बात कह रहे थे कि जब तक इस समस्या से मुक्ति नहीं मिलेगी वे चुप नहीं बैठेंगे। इस दौरान भाजपा और कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने राजनीति से उपर उठकर एकजुटता दिखाई और दोनों राज्यों की पुलिस को निशाने पर लिया। गौरतलब है कि मध्यप्रदेश में भाजपा की सरकार है तो सीमावर्ती राजस्थान में कांग्रेस की सरकार।



क्षेत्र में लगातार कंजरो की वारदातों से परेशान किसानों ने संयुक्त किसान मोर्चा के नाम से सैकड़ों किसानों ने बंदोद रोड से रैली निकालकर पुलिस थाने के सामने स्टेशन रोड पर सड़कों पर बैठकर राजस्थान पुलिस मध्य प्रदेश पुलिस के खिलाफ नारेबाजी करते हुए प्रदर्शन किया। प्रदर्शन के दौरान विधायक मनोज चावला ने कहा कि मध्य प्रदेश पुलिस की नाकामी के कारण विधानसभा क्षेत्र के तीनों थाना क्षेत्रों में कंजरो की वारदातें बढ़ने से किसान परेशान हैं। राजस्थान पुलिस ने क्षेत्र के किसानों पर गलत प्रकरण

बनाया है। प्रकरण की निष्पक्ष जांच के लिए मुख्यमंत्री अशोक गहलोत से चर्चा की जाएगी। वहाँ उन्होंने कहा कि राजस्थान पुलिस में अगर दम है तो वह मेरे खिलाफ भी प्रकरण बनाए। मैं भी वहाँ गया था। उन्होंने मध्य प्रदेश पुलिस को भी आड़े हाथों लिया है और उनकी निष्कियता पर प्रश्न चिन्ह लगाया। कांग्रेस नेता वीरेंद्र सिंह सोलंकी ने कंजरो द्वारा किसानों से लिए जा रहे जजिया कर बंद न कराने एवं पुलिस प्रशासन की कार्यवाही पर प्रश्न चिन्ह लगाए हैं। इस दौरान भाजपा नेता उर्पेंद्र सिंह यादव ने कहा कि दलाल



कोई भी हो पुलिस उस पर कार्यवाई करें और कंजरो की गतिविधियां क्षेत्र में ना हो इसके प्रबंध पुलिस प्रशासन को करना चाहिए। जनपद प्रधान कालू सिंह परिहार संबोधित करते हुए कहा कि चोरियों की वारदातों से परेशान किसानों ने राजस्थान डेरों में जाकर क्षेत्र में वारदात नहीं करने की किसानों को चेतावनी दी और अपना चोरी हुआ सामान वापस लाने का प्रयास किया लेकिन उल्टे ही ग्राम कलसिया के 6 किसानों पर अपहरण का प्रकरण दर्ज कर गिरफ्तार कर लिया है जिससे क्षेत्र के किसानों में

आक्रोश है। उन्होंने भी मध्य प्रदेश पुलिस की निष्कियता पर प्रश्न चिन्ह लगाए हैं। किसान नेता उल्फत सिंह परिहार ने कहा कि जब पुलिस कंजरो की चोरिया नहीं रोक पाती है तो मजबूरी में किसान कानून को हाथ में लेते हैं। किसानों ने कोई गुनाह नहीं किया। कांग्रेस नेता भीरू सिंह को बात राजस्थान के मुख्यमंत्री अशोक गहलोत से हुई है इस कारण किसान उन्हाल थाने की ओर कुछ नहीं करेंगे केवल मात्र 10 किसान पहुंचकर प्रकरण के विरोध के संबंध ज्ञापन देंगे।

आलोट में पहली बार इस प्रकार सड़कों पर किसानों का रैला, ज्ञापन दिया। थाने में पुलिस के विरोध में पहली बार करीब 5000 किसानों का रैला सड़कों पर नजर आया किसान हाथों में तख्तियां लेकर पुलिस मुख्यालय के नारे लगा रहे थे आंदोलन में भाजपा और कांग्रेस के नेता भी शरीक हुए हैं। थाने के सामने बैठे किसानों ने सभा के बाद एसडीएम राजेश मुक्ता एवं एडिशनल एसपी सुनील पाटीदार को कंजरो की गतिविधियों की रोकथाम एवं राजस्थान में क्षेत्र के किसानों बने प्रकरण को लेकर ज्ञापन दिया है। इस दौरान आसपास क्षेत्र का पुलिस बल तैनात था।

Picture 17 - Dainik Bhaskar, Bikaner, 26th February 2021. Case of village Mundad near Nokha, Bikaner regarding caste discrimination by a barber with three Sansi boys rejecting them to give a hair-cut.

भारतीय संविधान में अनुच्छेद 14 के अनुसार जाति, लिंग, धार्मिक विश्वास या जन्म स्थान आदि के आधार पर देश के किसी नागरिक के साथ भेदभाव नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन नोखा के मूंदड़ गांव की यह घटना संविधान की मूल भावना के खिलाफ है।

सांसी जाति के बच्चों के बाल काटने से मना किया नाई ने, धक्के देकर निकाला

मानवाधिकार आयोग तक पहुंची शिकायत, पुलिस में केस दर्ज, दुकानदार फरार

छाड़म रिपोर्टर | बीकानेर

नोखा के मूंदड़ गांव में नाई ने सांसी समाज के तीन बच्चों के बाल काटने से मना कर दिया। अपमानित कर तीनों को दुकान के बाहर निकाल दिया। चाइल्ड हेल्प्लाइन के जरिए यह मामला पुलिस के पास पहुंचा तो जसरासर थाने में केस दर्ज हुआ। निषेध के तहत फरार होने से पहले ही दुकानदार फरार हो गया। मानवाधिकार आयोग को भी संज्ञान लेने के लिए लिखा गया है।

मूंदड़ गांव में सांसी परिवार के तीन बच्चे रवंतराम (15), राजुराम (15) और बजरंगलाल (11) पिछले दिनों नाई की दुकान पर कटिंग करवाने पहुंचे थे। कुर्सियां खाली देखकर तीनों बच्चे बैठ गए तो दुकानदार चेनाराम नाई भड़क गया। उसने तीनों बच्चों को छोटी जाति का बतकर कटिंग करने से मना कर दिया और अपमानित करने के बाद धक्के देकर दुकान से निकाल दिया। तीनों ने घर पहुंचकर घटना बतई तो रवंतराम के पिता शिवलाल दुकान पहुंचे। सांसी परिवार ने घटना के खिलाफ अज्ञात उठाई और मामला नोखा के उरमूल ज्योति संस्थान पहुंचा तो जसरासर थाने में दुकानदार के खिलाफ मुकदमा दर्ज किया गया। सामाजिक न्याय एवं विकास समिति के सचिव गोपालराम वर्मा ने बताया कि मूंदड़ गांव पहुंचे और पोंडित के बयान लिए। उन्होंने राष्ट्रीय और राज्य मानवाधिकार आयोग, एडोनी मानवाधिकार, कलेक्टर और एसपी को पत्र लिखा है। गौरतलब है कि 13 फरवरी दुकानदार ने कटिंग करने से मना

किया और 16 फरवरी को जसरासर थाने में मुकदमा दर्ज किया गया।

चाइल्ड हेल्प्लाइन पर फोन किया तो पुलिस तक पहुंचा मामला : दुकानदार को और से बच्चों की कटिंग करने से मना करने से उन्होंने अपमानित महसूस किया और चाइल्ड हेल्प्लाइन पर फोन कर सहायता मांगी। वहां से पूरी मदद करने का जवाब मिला और नोखा में उरमूल ज्योति संस्थान के पदाधिकारियों को फोन किया गया। उन्होंने पोंडित परिवार से पूरे घटनाक्रम की जानकारी ली और पोंडित पक्ष ने जसरासर थाने में मुकदमा दर्ज करवाया।

दुकानदार के चाचा की रिकॉर्डिंग है जिसमें उसने कटिंग करने से मना

किया है : सामाजिक न्याय एवं विकास समिति के सचिव गोपालराम वर्मा ने बताया कि घटना की जानकारी मिलने पर वह दौंस से बीकानेर के मूंदड़ गांव पहुंचे। उन्होंने पूरी जानकारी ली। दुकान पर भी गए। दुकानदार के चाचा से बातचीत की तो उन्होंने भी सांसी जाति के परिवार की कटिंग करने से मना किया जिसकी रिकॉर्डिंग भी है। पोंडित को न्याय दिलाने के लिए पूरा घटनाक्रम मानवाधिकार के संज्ञान में लाया गया है।

सीओ नोखा का जवाब ... जांच चल

रही है : जसरासर पुलिस थाने में मुकदमा दर्ज होने के बाद मामले की गंभीरता को देखते हुए जांच सीओ नोखा नेममित चौहान को सौंपी गई जिन्होंने मौका-मुआयना किया और पोंडित पक्ष के बयान लिए हैं। घटना के बारे में उनसे पूछा गया तो जानकारी देने से बचते हुए केवल इतना कहा कि जांच चल रही है।

इस प्रयोग से समझें कि 2021 में भी कुछ जगह वर्ग विशेष को दबाया जा रहा है...

• अगर आपके साथ भेदभाव-पूर्ण व्यवहार किया गया है, तो आप इसके बारे में मानवाधिकार आयोग से शिकायत कर सकते हैं। यह आयोग परामर्श और सूचना प्रदान करता है। यदि जरूरी हो तो आपकी शिकायत में मध्यस्थता प्रदान कर के सहायता उपलब्ध करा सकता है।

• सभी राज्यों में मानवाधिकार आयोग के कार्यालय होते हैं, शिकायतकर्ता वहां जाकर अधिकारी से मिल कर अपनी शिकायत दर्ज करा सकते हैं।

• आयोग को तार, फैक्स, डाक और ऑनलाइन (<http://nhrc.nic.in/nhrc.htm>) आवेदन भी भेजा जा सकता है।

• शिकायत हिंदी, अंग्रेजी, उर्दू अथवा संविधान की आठवीं सूची में सम्मिलित भाषाओं में से किसी भी भाषा में दे सकते हैं।

■ आजादी के 73 साल बाद भी ऊंच-नीच, जातिवाद बरकरार है जिसका ठीकरा हम लोगों पर फूटता है और अपमानित होना पड़ता है। पुत्र रामेश्वर, भाई राजुराम के बेटे बजरंगलाल को नीचे जाति का कहकर कटिंग करने से मना कर दिया गया। पुलिसकर्मी भवणराम से गुस्सा लगाई तो उसने भी अनुमति कर दी। भले लोगों की मदद से मुकदमा दर्ज हुआ है। जांच अधिकारी ने हमारे बयान लिए हैं, लेकिन आरोपी की गिरफ्तारी नहीं हुई है। पता नहीं, न्याय मिलेगा भी या नहीं।

- शिवलाल सांसी, पोंडित

■ पुलिस की जानकारी में आने पर तत्काल मुकदमा दर्ज किया गया और एससी-एसटी एक्ट लागू के कारण मामले की जांच सीओ नोखा को सौंपी गई है। उन्हें पूरे मामले की निष्पक्ष जांच करते हुए रिपोर्ट देने के निर्देश दिए गए हैं।

- प्रीति चंद्रा, एसपी बीकानेर



Picture 18 - News regarding the allotment of land to the Kalbelia community for burial ground. It is a culture among the Kalbelia community to bury their deceased and construct samadhi (memorial) over it.



Picture 19 - News published in Rajasthan Patrika, Bhopal, 22nd March-2021 related to custodial deaths of Sheru Pardhi in Guna, Madhya Pradesh.

वारदातों में लिप्त पारदियों को पकड़ने तीन थानों की पुलिस ने रात में दी दबिश
बुजुर्ग की संदिग्ध मौत पर परिजनों ने घेरा
थाना, पुलिस वालों ने भागकर बचाई जान

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गुना. जिले में लगातार बढ़ रही चोरियों से घिरी गुना जिला पुलिस के लिए शेरू पारदी की मौत कहीं गले की फांस न बन जाए। उसकी संदिग्ध मौत के बाद परिजनों में नाराजगी है। इसके चलते उन्होंने जिला अस्पताल में एक पुलिस दरोगा की खड़ी तक पकड़ ली और कुछ पुलिसकर्मियों से झुमाझटकी तक कर दी, जबकि पुलिस अधिकारी उन्हें समझाने का प्रयास कर रहे थे। मृतक शेरू के परिजनों का गुस्सा देखकर अस्पताल परिसर में मौजूद पुलिसकर्मी जान बचाकर भागे। पारदी समाज की महिलाओं ने जिला अस्पताल के साथ कैट थाना भी घेरा। तनाव को देखते हुए कई थानों और पुलिस लाइन से स्टाफ कैट थाने पहुंचा।

महिलाओं का आरोप है कि शेरू को पुलिस ने पीटा, उसकी पुलिस अभिरक्षा में ही मौत हो गई, बाद में पुलिस अस्पताल छोड़ आई है। वहीं पुलिस अधीक्षक राजीव कुमार मिश्रा ने आरोपों को नकारते हुए कहा कि पुलिस पर दबाव बनाने के लिए ऐसे आरोप लगाए जा रहे हैं।

गुना शहर में लगातार बढ़ रही चोरियों को लेकर आरोपियों की तलाश करते हुए सिटी कोतवाली, कैट और बजरंगगढ़ पुलिस थाने की संयुक्त पुलिस ने अलग-अलग जगह वारदातों में शामिल रहे पारदियों की तलाश में शनिवार-रविवार की दरम्यानी रात को दबिश दी थी। 12-15 पारदियों को पुलिस पकड़कर

सिटी कोतवाली और कैट पुलिस थाने ले आई। इसमें गोकुल सिंह चक निवासी बुजुर्ग शेरू पारदी भी शामिल था। परिजनों के अनुसार पुलिस ने शेरू को जमकर पीटा। उसकी हालत बिगड़ने पर जिला अस्पताल में भर्ती करा दिया गया। जहां उसकी मौत हो गई। वहीं पुलिस का कहना है कि बीमारी के चलते शेरू की मौत हुई है। पुलिस की दो दर्जन गाड़ियों में सवार एक सैकड़ा से अधिक पुलिस अधिकारी कर्मचारियों ने पारदी अपराधियों की धरपकड़ के लिए शनिवार-रविवार रात अभियान चलाया। जो रविवार सुबह 5 बजे तक जारी रहा। पारदियों के साथ ही एक जिलाबंदर भी पुलिस पकड़ में आया था। इन्हीं

आरोप: मारा-पीटा और मरा समझकर अस्पताल में छोड़कर भाग गए

शेरू के परिजनों ने कैट पुलिस थाना परिसर में पत्रकारों को बताया कि रात दो बजे पुलिस शेरू को पकड़ कर लाई थी। हमारे सामने मारा पीटा, और रात में ही उसको मरा समझकर अस्पताल छोड़कर भाग गए। वहीं पुलिस अधीक्षक राजीव कुमार मिश्रा का कहना है कि रात में पारदियों के ठिकानों पर पुलिस ने दबिश दी। कुछ पारदियों को पकड़ा था, लेकिन इनमें मृतक पारदी शेरू नहीं था। यह गोकुल सिंह के चक का निवासी है जिसका नाम शेरू है। संभवतः उसकी मौत बीमारी के चलते हुई है।

गुना. पुलिसकर्मी से झुमाझटकी करती पारदी महिला

गुना. जिला अस्पताल में हंगामा करती महिलाएं।

पारदियों के साथ पुलिस ने शेरू पारदी भी पकड़ा था। परिजनों के अनुसार इस दौरान पुलिस ने शेरू के साथ जमकर मारपीट की। जिसके बाद उसकी हालत बिगड़ गई और पुलिस उसे जिला अस्पताल में छोड़कर चली गई। इस बारे में एसपी राजीव कुमार मिश्रा का कहना है कि रात में पारदियों के ठिकानों पर पुलिस ने दबिश दी। इस दौरान कुछ पारदियों को पकड़ा था, लेकिन पकड़ में मृतक पारदी शेरू नहीं था। यह गोकुल सिंह के चक का निवासी है जिसका नाम शेरू है।

होलाष्टक - 28 मार्च को गोधुली बेला में होगा होलिका दहन

Picture 20 - News published in DB Post (on left), Bhopal, 19th November 2017 related to suicide of Pardhi woman Indarmal Bai aged 30 years after police harassment.

‘Being harassed by two policemen’, woman attempts suicide in city

DB Post Correspondent

Bhopal: A 30-year-old woman, Indarmal Bai, 30, allegedly attempted suicide by setting herself ablaze on Friday in Gandhi Nagar locality here. Her family members, in a written complaint, alleged that she was being harassed by two policemen of Gandhi Nagar police station for bribe in lieu of not framing her in a false theft case.

However, the police claimed that in her declaration before magistrate on Friday, she has said that she was trying to burn garbage outside her house. On Saturday, Indarmal Bai's family members alleged that the two policemen, named Gajraj and Jadhav, were harassing her for the last 6 days.

The complaint stated that "on Friday the two policemen came to her house 3 times, in the morning at about 6.10 am, at noon and then between 2.30-3pm and demanded the money. She then took the drastic step by self immolating."



Indarmal Bai

VIDEO GOES VIRAL

■ **Meanwhile,** a video clip of the victim went viral on Saturday, in which she is heard saying the policemen demanded Rs20,000 from her and threatened to pick her up and take her to thana

■ **She could** also be heard saying that they had already picked up her brothers

■ **However, ASP, Zone-4, Sameer Yadav,** said: "In a declaration before the magistrate on Friday, she didn't mention the harassment. However, on Saturday, her family members gave the written complaint"

माहिती ने कहा- झूठे केस में फँसाने के नाम पर दो सिपाही मांग रहे थे रुपए

राजेश विवेकर | भोपाल

दो सिपाही थाने के झूठे केस में फँसाने की धमकी देकर 20 हजार रुपए मांग रहे थे। इतने रुपए में कहा से दोगे। इन्फैंट पुलिसस्टेशन में तब आकर केटीमिन जलकर खुद को आग लगा ली। वह आरोप इन्फैंट अभियान में भाई इंदरमल बाई ने गंधीनगर थाने के दो सिपाहियों गजराज सिंह गजराज और जधव पर लगाया है। इस संबंध में गंधी नगर थाने में दोनों सिपाहियों के खिलाफ रिजिस्ट्रार सिफाफत भी की गई है। हुए, गंधी नगर पुलिस का कहना है कि सिपाही गजराज सिंह खरंट मूले है। उनका इंदरमल बाई से आमन-खमन ही नहीं हुआ है। गंधी नगर निहारी इंदरमल बाई ने 17 नवंबर को मुम्बई केटीमिन जलकर आग लगा री थी। 60 प्रतिशत झुलसी महिला का इन्फैंट में इलाज चल रहा है। उनका कहना है कि हम कचरा बीसकर अपना पैट धारो है। एक दिन पहले दोनों सिपाही आए थे। वे 20 हजार रुपए के लिए दखन मंग रहे थे। पुलिस ने उनके परिवारों को आग्रह दूक में बंद किया था। टोअर्ब कुलदीप खात्री का कहना है कि सिपाही गजराज पर महिला ने अट्टीवाजी के आरोप लगाए हैं। उसकी जांच की जा रही है। महिला ने मैजिस्ट्रेट को बयान में बताया है कि कचरा जलते खमन उसने आग लगाई थी।

खरंट तामील कराने गए थे

गजराज सिंह का कहना है छोटे पारदी, भरलें सिंह, राम धोले पारदी और उसके दो बेटे गोरू एवं राहुल के कोर्ट में जमानती खरंट आए थे। जब वह लोग थाने नहीं पहुंचे तो टोम के साथ सिपाहियों के लिए टांका दी। गंधी आरोपी इंदरमल के परिवार के है। वह महिला को पहचाना ही नहीं है। झूठे केस में फँसाने और 20 हजार रुपए की मांग के झूठे आरोप है।

Picture 20, Part-II of the above news on Indarmal Bai:

Tribal woman's death after alleged police harassment sparks protests in Bhopal

The 25-year-old woman from the tribal Pardhi community set herself on fire after being allegedly harassed by the police

BHOPAL Updated: Nov 21, 2017 11:09 IST



HT Correspondent
Bhopal, Hindustan Times



A Pardhi woman pasting a poster asking police not to pick up people from their homes while they are sleeping. Members of the Pardhi community are looking to shed its criminal tag which they say leaves them open to harassment from the authorities.(HT File)

The death of a 25-year-old woman from the tribal Pardhi community, who had set herself on fire after being allegedly harassed by the police, on Monday triggered a protest in Madhya Pradesh's capital Bhopal.

Indira Bai, a resident of Nai Basti in Gandhi Nagar area of the city, had accused three policemen of threatening to implicate her in a case of theft unless she paid Rs 20,000.

Members of her community, activists and the Aam Admi Party (AAP) protested in front of the Gandhi Nagar police station demanding action against the three policemen named by her.

For complete news read -

<http://www.hindustantimes.com/bhopal/tribal-woman-s-death-after-alleged-police-harassment-sparks-protests-in-bhopal/story-bawhmikJAXwaUjnbVB2oYI.html>

Picture 21 - News published in Dainik Shramasadhana, Bhopal, dated 01.06.2021 regarding the custodial death of Tulsidas Kanjar in Berasiya Police station. Tulsidas of village Dekpur was arrested by Berasiya Police on 25.05.2021 from the market while he was shopping with his wife. He died on 29.05.2021 due to brutal thrashing in custody. Tulsiram's wife has given the statement that the police demanded Rs. 5 Lakh to release him.

विविध

ग्वालियर शिवपुरी से प्रकाशित दैनिक श्रमसाधना

परिजन ने थाने में पुलिस से रुपए मांगने और मारपीट का लगाया आरोप विचाराधीन कैदी की हमीदिया अस्पताल में मौत

मजिस्ट्रेटल जांच के आदेश,
भोपाल के बैरसिया थाना का
मामला
तुलसीदास कंजर नाम के

युवक की थाने में मारपीट से
जेल में हुई मौत
आरोप, बैरसिया थाना पुलिस
ने 27 मई को अधमरा कर

शराब रख भेज दिया था जेल
दो दिन में जेल में हुई मौत,
जेल प्रबंधन ने पत्र जारी कर
कहा तुलसीदास हो गया था

पागल
परिजन और पुलिस हमीदिया
में, मृतक का चल रहा
पोस्टमार्टम



विजय डोंगरे

भोपाल। परिजन के अनुसार बैरसिया पुलिस ने बर्बरतापूर्वक और पीट-पीट कर अधमरा किया और झूठा अपराध कायम कर जेल भेजा, जहां केंद्रीय जेल में तुलसीराम की हुई मृत्यु।

तुलसीराम पिता नहार सिंह ग्राम डेकपुर, विजोरी टपरा, तहसील बैरसिया, भोपाल का निवासी था, की दिनांक 25/5/2021 शादी का सामान खरीदने अपनी पत्नी और परिवार के और लोगों के साथ बैरसिया बुलेरो जीप से आये थे। उनके परिवार में शादी थी, और शौक से चीजें जोड़ रहे थे। बैरसिया के दशहरा मैदान तरफ थे कि इतने में बैरसिया थाने की पुलिस आई और बुलेरो जीप व ड्राइवर तुलसी राम विजोरी को एसआई सीएस यादव व अन्य पुलिस कर्मी थाने लेकर आ गए। थाने में यादव व अन्य पुलिस कर्मियों द्वारा तुलसीराम की बेहदहमी से पिटाई की गई। तुलसी राम की पत्नी भी वहीं थी, जब तुलसी राम की पत्नी के सामने ही थाने में पदस्थ चार पुलिस कर्मी ने बर्बत पूर्वक पिटाई की। पत्नी, पतलेस बाई का कहना कि तुलसी राम और वो खुद पुलिसवालों के हाथ जोड़ते व पैर पड़ती रही कि मेरे

पति को मत मारो, लेकिन पुलिस ने एक न सुनी। तु 5 लाख ला, नहीं तो तेरे सामने ही मारेंगे बोलते हुए वो कभी दीवार पर तुलसीराम का सिर ठोके, कभी लात मारे दो घंटे बाद धक्के देकर उसको थाने से बाहर निकाल दिया और वो खिड़की से उसके पति के साथ हो रही क्रूर हिंसा देखती रही। वो कह रही है कि एक-दो लाख में मान जाते, तो उतना कहीं से कर्जों करके ले आती, लेकिन 5 लाख कहां से लाकर देती।

अगले दिन तुलसीराम के ऊपर झूठा आपराधिक प्रकरण कायम कर दिनांक 26/5/2021 को जेल भेज दिया गया, और जेल से दिनांक 29/5/2021 के पत्र के माध्यम से परिवारजन को तुलसीराम की मौत की जानकारी दी गयी है। आज जब परिवारजन हमीदिया में पोस्ट-मार्टम के लिए पहुंचे और गिरफ्तारी के पूर्व की बात व्यक्त की।

जेल की जानकारी पत्र में 29.5.21 के दिन उपचार के दौरान मृत्यु बोला जा रहा है, और साथ ही यह दर्ज किया गया है कि मानसिक स्वास्थ्य के परामर्श के लिए उसे हमीदिया चिकित्सालय

भेजा जा रहा था, लेकिन हमीदिया में मृत घोषित हुआ।

परिवारजन का कहना है कि बैरसिया पुलिस की बर्बर हिंसा और उसके पश्चात जेल में उपयुक्त इलाज न मिलने के चलते तुलसीराम की मौत हुई है। जेल के पत्र में ही जिस दिन से वो भर्ती हैं, उसके अगले दिन से ही स्वास्थ्य की गिरावट समझ आ रही है।

अतः परिवार की मांग है कि बैरसिया पुलिस की हिंसा और भोपाल केंद्रीय जेल की लापरवाही से तुलसीराम की मौत हुई है, और इनके लिए उन पर हत्या का मुकदमा दर्ज होना चाहिए। यह मौत, जेल में होने के नाते, मजिस्ट्रेट की जांच का मसला बना है, और पोस्ट मार्टम के दौरान एक शुरुआती बयान लिया गया है। तुलसीराम के पीछे उसकी पत्नी और चार बच्चे हैं। इनका भविष्य कैसा होगा, इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार होगा।

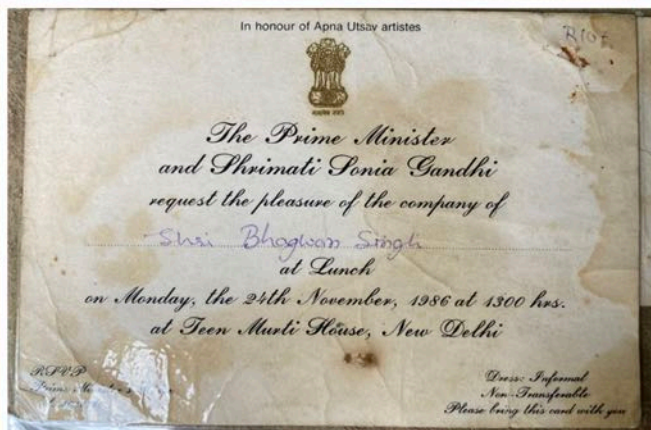
यह ज्ञात हो कि तुलसीराम कंजर समुदाय के सदस्य थे, और बैरसिया में रहवासी कंजर समुदाय के युवा, औरतें, बच्चे आदमी सभी इस खौफ से रहते हैं कि जब

वे राशन लेने, त्यौहार मनाने या छोटी बाजार में निकले तो उन्हें बैरसिया थाने की पुलिस कभी भी उठाकर पैसे ऐंठने का काम करती है। लोगों से 20,000 से ज्यादा लाखों तक मांगा जाता है। नहीं दे पाने पर कच्ची दारु का केस इन पर ठेंकना आम प्रकरण है। तुलसीराम के परिवारजन अभी यही रो रहे हैं कि कहीं से भी पैसे दे देते तो हमारे आदमी को नहीं मारते। संपर्क-8349729556 विजयराम

उधर इस मामले में बैरसिया एसडीओपी केके वर्मा ने बताया की अवैध शराब के विक्रय की सूचना पर सुबह 10 साढ़े दस बजे आरोपी तुलसीराम को बैरसिया बाजार से पकड़ा था। एक बोलेरो गाड़ी में 70 लीटर के लगभग अवैध शराब बरामद कर अपराध क्रमांक 333/2021 दर्ज कर धारा 34 (2) एवं 49 आबकारी एक्ट में माननीय न्यायालय के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया गया था। जहां से उसे जेल भेजा गया। रुपए मांगने और पुलिस द्वारा मारपीट के आरोप झूठे हैं।

फिर भी यदि परिजन ने आरोप लगाए हैं तो जांच होने पर जो दोषी होगा उसे सजा मिलना चाहिए।

Picture 22 - Press clippings of Chakri dance performances by the Kanjar women and invitation for lunch with the Prime Minister of India (1986).



Picture 23 - UNESCO website page listing the Kalbelia folk songs and dances of Rajasthan in the ICH list of the year 2010.



Picture 24 - News published in Dainik Bhaskar, 7th April, 2020 regarding the legendary oath taken by the Gadia Luhar community with Maharana Pratap while they fought with him (AD 1568) against the Mughal. The oath was, that they will not climb the Chittorgarh fort until Pratap conquers it back. This oath was compromised with initiation of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, since India became Independent. He accompanied the Gadia Luhar leaders to enter Chittorgarh fort after a gap of four hundred years. Along with Nehru, 8 Chief Ministers welcomed the Gadia Luhar leaders to enter the fort.

चित्तौड़गाढ़ भास्कर

इटकपुर • मंगलवार, 07 अप्रैल, 2020

निम्बाहटड़ा • बड़ीसादड़ी • गंगारार

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लौकडाइन • यह भी एक जंग से जीत की कहानी है, इसलिए 65 साल पहले के ऐतिहासिक प्रसंग को आज की खबर की तरह पढ़िए.... देशभर के गाड़िया लौहार आए थे नेहरूजी के साथ पहली बार किले पर चढ़े गाड़िया लौहार, अगवानि में थे 8 सीएम

सोहन पटवर्धन • चित्तौड़गढ़

पाकड़ों में कैद चित्तौड़ का बजार और किले का परत आज वेद संकर हो गया। नगरवासी ने ऐस जरूरतक पाली का देखा। खुली जंग में अभिप्रेत करीत हुए किले की ओर बह रहे प्रयत्नवादी प. जाहलरलाल नेहरू की एक झुंझक देखने की लगे वेतक नजर आए। उनके पीछे लाल रंग की पर्वत पर चढ़े गाड़िया लौहार का ऐस लोचन कि देखकर खुद चौंकाव भी चला। देशभर से आए उन गाड़िया लौहरी के स्वागत में 8 राज्य के मुख्यमंत्री भी आए। किले के दर में पर एक खेपे अगवानि को खड़े रहे।

आज सुबह 6 अगले 1955 का यह नजारा हम अपने कठपुंजी को बत रहे है। मेवाड़ में महाराज प्रताप के साथ जो लड़ने वाले

गाड़िया लौहरी को 400 साल पहले की कसम तुलने के लिए मेवाड़ प्रतापगढ़ के नेतृ माणिकलाल वर्मा ने नेहरूजी को एक रिश्ता ब और फिर देशभर में घुमकड़ जीवन जी रहे गाड़िया लौहरी तक स्टेट भेजकर गढ़ एजेंट किया गया। उनसे जुड़लाल से यह समझना था कि वे आजादी के जिस संकल्प के साथ कठोर जीवन व्यपन कर रहे, वो पूरा हो चुका है। अब आका चित्तौड़ भी आज़ाद है। नेहरूजी चाहते थे कि इनका पूर्ण प्रेम खल भंग हो। उन्होंने अपना कार्यक्रम तब करने के साथ ही तिलिह दिए कि किले के दर दरतले पर एक सुनवाई अगवानि में खड़े रहे। यमा में भीड़ उमड़ी

पत्तौरीक: दुर्ग पर 6 अप्रैल 1955 को गाड़िया लौहार सम्मेलन और प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री पं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू की यात्रा का वर्णन



खपन में चित्तौड़ और मेवाड़ की कहानियां पढ़ी पर आपके साथ में भी यहाँ पहली बार आया: नेहरू

हमें आज़ाद हुए खल सन हो गए। एक काम पूरा हुआ और आज हम चित्तौड़ आए। मैं देश में बहुत घुमा हूँ, खपन में चित्तौड़ और मेवाड़ की कहानियां पढ़ता था तो दिल पर उसका बहुत असर पड़ता है। क्योंकि महाराणा ने अपने संदेश में कहा है कि इस पहाड़ के

एक-एक पत्थर और एक एक जर्म में आजादी की कहानी धरी पड़ी है। लेकिन आश्चर्य की बात है कि मैं अभी तक यहाँ नहीं आ सका। आज पहली बार आया और ऐसे सुअसर पर आया कि आप भी पहली बार आए। (नेहरू के लंबे धपन का एक अंश)

नेहरूजी के साथ ही आई चित्तौड़ में सड़क और कोयले वाली बिजली

92 वर्षीय अधिकाता धनराल निरादित्य ने कहा कि तब चित्तौड़गढ़ एक छोटे से कस्बे के रूप में पाकड़ों में था। तब में स्टेट लहट की जगह केरौसन के बाई टोपक चलते थे। वर्ष 1955 में प्रधानमंत्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के आगमन की तैयारी में कस्बे में सड़कें पड़ी और कोयले से बनने वाली बिजली का सुधारण हुआ। निम्नका पत्थर हाउस कवनन मोहिनय में बना। नेहरूजी एक छोटे कर्वा जहाज से आए। इसके निरु सहर से थोड़ा दूर भंडारित व सेते के बीच एक अस्थायी हवाईपट्टी बनाई।

1568 में ये 5 कसमें लेकर चले गए थे

1. धर्म, भूमि, जय तक तुम आज़ाद व कर लेते, सब सब-
1. कस्बे या जंगल कहीं भी पकड़ा पर कककर नहीं रखेंगे
2. खट पर नहीं खेपेंगे
3. चित्तौड़गढ़ किले पर नहीं खेपेंगे
4. टोपक नहीं जताएंगे
5. पत्नी खींचने का रस्स नहीं रखेंगे

जोधपुर, गुरुवार, 03 सितम्बर, 2020

निहारिका टाइम्स

अपने ही देश में शरणार्थी की जिंदगी जी रहे गाड़िया लोहार समाज

रोटी तो महे घास की भी खा लैसा पण स्वाभिमान ने आंच नहीं आवण देंगे

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मोहिन्द बोस • सिंगधरी। उरखंड खेज सहित खजुर जिला प्रशासन व राज्य सरकार द्वारा नहीं हो पा रही है सुनवाई, सरकारी योजनाओं से वंचित गाड़िया लोहार समाज के सैकड़ परिवार मुगल सलतनत की आक्रामकता से लोहा लेने के दौरान जीवन की कठिन परिस्थितियों से गुजरे महाराणा प्रताप के साथ रहे रणभक्त प्रणवीर गाड़िया लोहार अपनी पूरी सात पीढ़ी तक भी महाराणा प्रताप के प्रति वक्तव्य निधाने का पूर्वजों का लिया संकल्प निपा रहे हैं। मुगलों की ओर से कुचले जाने के बाद मुगल रूप से गुंव और शायें में एक काट को गाढ़ी के नीचे अपने परिवार को पालने वाले गाड़िया लोहार देश की आजादी के सत दहक बाद भी वर्तमान में बचल रही सामाजिक व प्रशासनिक कार्य से मन मसोमसर अपना पुर्तनी मेजवर छोड़ने को मजबूर हो रहे हैं।

सिंगधरी उरखंड में करीब 50 गाड़िया लोहार के परिवार निवासत है लेकिन किसी के पास जमीन है। पर पट्टा नहीं और एक स्टैंड में पाच-पाच परिवार रहने की मजबूर है। राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा सुगुनित जीवन यापन के लिए महाराणा प्रताप आवासीय योजना के तहत निष्कृत भूखंड व आवास उपलब्ध कराने की है योजना लेकिन सिर डकने योजना पर फनी फिस्त



नजर आया। सरकार द्वारा महाराणा प्रताप आवास योजना के तहत गाड़िया लोहार परिवार को आवास के लिए सहायता राशि भी मिलती है लेकिन भूखंड के अभाव में यह योजना भी निरर्थक साबित हो रही है और किसी के पास भूखंड है तो पट्टा नहीं सरकारी सहायता का लभ गाड़िया लोहार परिवारों को नहीं के बराबर मिलता है गाड़िया लोहार परिवार के लोग बीनकर या कमाव से खरीद कर लए गए लोहे को तपा कर उसकी कृषि निर्माण अथवा अन्य औजार तथा घरेलू उपकरण बनाने का व्यवसाय के ठिकने जस के तस रह रहे हैं।

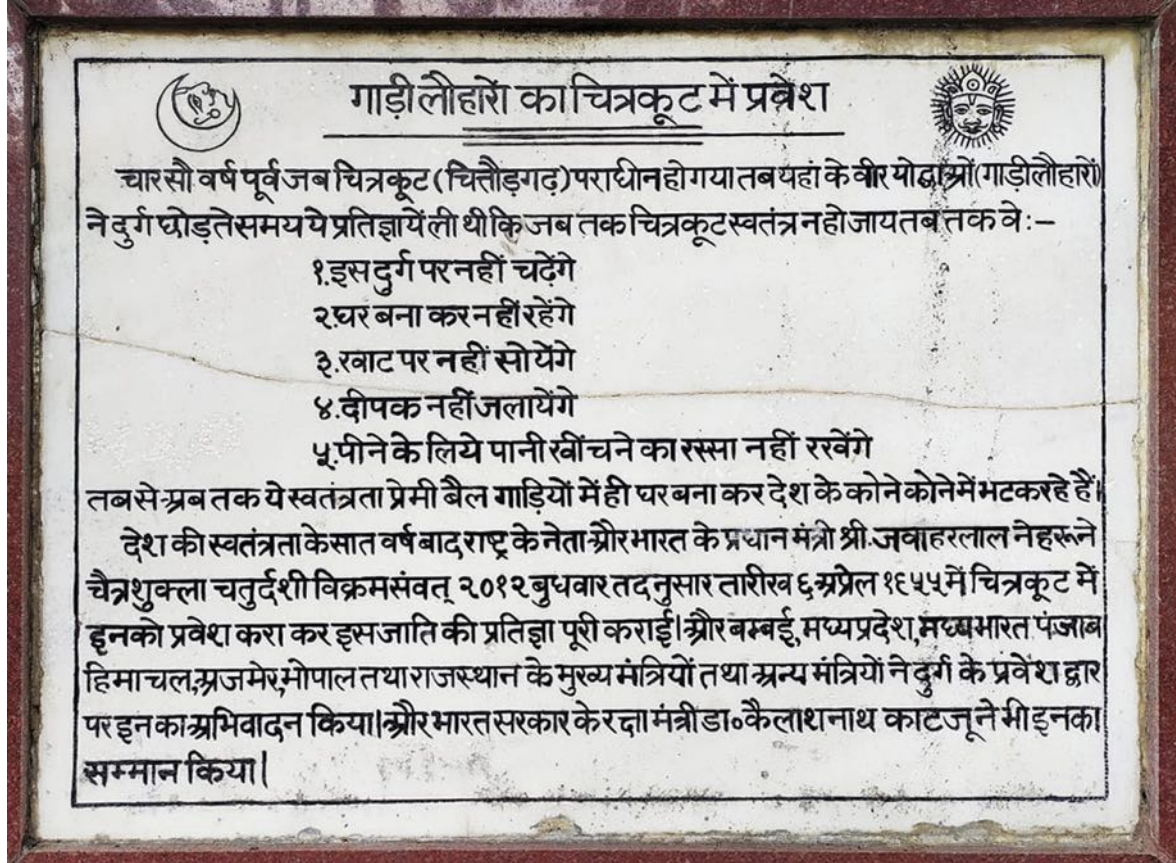
गाँवों में रहने वाले गाड़िया लोहार योजनाओं से वंचित सिंगधरी उरखंड में 50 सालों से निवास करने वाली गाड़िया लोहार समाज के परिवार स्याई व अस्थायी रूप से निवास करते हैं उनके विकास और उन्नयन के लिए कार्य करने वाली महाराणा प्रताप गाड़िया लोहार विकास संस्थान अल्पसंख्यक भूमि आवंटन एवं भूखंड आवास योजना के लिए प्रस्ताव तैयार करके जिला मुख्यालय को भेज दिये हैं। लेकिन अधिकारियों द्वारा फादल को रिजेक्ट करके वॉरिस भेज देते हैं जिससे

मै शारिरीक व मर्वांसक रूप से दुखी हूँ।संस्थापक का कहना है कि मैं सत सत से सरकारी कार्यालयों के चक्कर काट रहा हूँ। अधिकारी अधासन देकर भेज देते हैं। नहीं मिल पा रहा है। भूखंड व आवासीय योजनाओं का लभ। महाराणा प्रताप की मुगलों से बचें खेपेगरी युद्ध की बाईं सभी गाड़िया लोहार में भूमिल हो चुकी है लेकिन विरासत में मिला राजघर व सामाजिक दायित्व वे आज भी बखूबी निपाने को तयार रहते हैं। लेकिन देख में आजादी की खुली हाथ लने वाले में सहयोगी गाड़िया लोहार उनकी पालुच से दूर हो चुके हैं। इससे

बड़ी गाड़िया लोहारों की समस्या यह है कि उनके गुहार पर जिला प्रशासन व राजस्थान सरकार की ओर से भी कोई सुनवाई नहीं हो रही है सरकारी अनाज में अनेक प्रकार की रिखायें एवं अधाण कोटा में निष्ठाक सहायता की योजना चला रही है फिर भी पुर्णतु जाति के अरिधित लोहारों को कोई सहायता नहीं मिल रही है।

जिले में सुगुनित कार्य को छोड़ डूटे बर्तन पांजने को मजबूर पलायन की पार कहे या माहगाई की गाड़िया लोहारों के लिए वर्तमान में कोयला लोहे से भी माहगा हो गया है जिससे अपनी छाती पर पत्थर रखकर एक टो परिवार को छोड़कर अन्य करीब 50 परिवार सड़क पर चार बिजल कर कोई चक्कू चूरी तो कोई अलग प्याज बेचकर या डूटे बर्तन मांजकर जीवन व्यपन करने को मजबूर हैं। चोचराम सोलंकी जिलाप्यह पटौलिया लोहार समाज ने बताया कि मेरी समाज का वोट लेने के लिए नेहा लोग बरसती मेहक की तरह पांच साल में एक बार आते हैं और हमें लोलीपप पकड़ कर पाले जाते हैं। सिंगधरी उरखंड में लगभग दस समाज के छात्रावास भूमि आवंटन कर छत्रावास का निर्माण किया गया है लेकिन गाड़िया लोहार समाज को भूमि आवंटन करवाने में राजनीतिक दलों एवं सरकारी अधिकारियों का कोई सहयोग नहीं है। इससे गाड़िया लोहार समाज अज्ञात है।

Picture 25 - Marble inscription describing the entry of Gadia Luhar community in Chittorgarh fort after four hundred years since their vow. The stone is installed down the Chittorgarh fort to mark the ceremony when they welcomed inside the fort on 6th April 1955 by the Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru.



Translation:

Entry of Gadia Luhar in Chitrakoot (Chittorgarh)

Four hundred years ago when Chitrakoot was taken over (by the Mughals), while the brave warriors (Gadia Luhar) were leaving the fort they took the following vows:-

- 1) Will not climb the fort
- 2) Will not construct house to live
- 3) Will not sleep on cot
- 4) Will not light lamp
- 5) Will not carry rope to fetch drinking water.

Since then these freedom loving people have been roaming around the corners of country in their carts.

Seven years after the independence, the Prime Minister of India welcomed them on 6th April 1955 inside the fort to complete their vow. On this occasion the Chief Ministers of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Punjab, Himachal, Ajmer, Bhopal and Rajasthan along with other ministers welcomed them on the entrance gate of the Chittorgarh fort. At the same time the Defence Minister of India Dr. Kailash Nath Katju also honoured them.

Picture 26 - Kanjar man from village Ramnagar worshipping his ancestral deity at village Barundhan, Bundi district. Barundhan is at a distance of some 30 Km from Ramnagar.



Picture 27 - Mughal miniature painting of Jehangir's time



A chain of traders connected India to the outside world. In this painting, nuts are being gathered and loaded on the backs of camels. Traders from Central Asia brought such goods to India and the Banjaras and other traders carried such articles to local markets.

Picture 28 - Quilts made by the Kalbelia women of Bundi district used for their own use. The fresh and most intricate ones are laid out for the guests during ceremonial occasions in the family. These also form part of the dowry given to the bride by her close family relatives.



Picture 29 - (Left) Kalbelia Samadhi of the deceased persons made in the forest area of village Dalelpura near Bundi. (Right) Mound of rubbles at Barudhani Kalbelia Chauraha near Mandalgarh in Bhilwara district (both are in Rajasthan). These Samadhis are worshiped regularly by the family members. They are believed to have spiritual powers to cure various problems. Many a time the spirits also possess the bodies of the family members to answer their problems.



Picture 30 - Police Chowki at village Ramnagar Kanjar village instituted during the British time and still used for surveillance over the Kanjar community.



Picture 31 - Abandoned Police Chowki in between Sokatch and Dekpur villages (at a distance of 12 km from each other) of Tehsil Berasiya of Bhopal district in Madhya Pradesh where Kanjar community members were kept in custody under the CTA-1871.



Picture 32 - Abandoned DNT settlement camp of Solahapur in Maharashtra which was visited by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru on 12th April 1960. He met the delegation of DNTs lead by Bhimrao Jadav (Guruji). On next day he met the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Yashwant Rao Chavhan to make study on the DNTs and make provision of reservation. Initially 4% reservation was sanctioned which at present is 3% for the DNT 3%, 2% for the NT, 3.5% for Dhangar (pastoralists) and 2% for the Vanjari community of Maharashtra state. See abandoned buildings on the right hand side at the edge of the ground.



Close view of the above Solahapur settlement camp.



Picture 33 - Illustration from the Akbarnama (Book of Akbar) showing Cheetawalla Pardhi in the foreground releasing their trained Cheetahs on the heard of deer. The composition is a rendering of ceremonial hunt near Lahore in 1567. The Mughal emperor Akbar (r.1556–1605) is shown in the centre of the right painting mounted on horseback with his sword raised. This shows that Pardhi were very much part of the Mughal hunting games.



Date: 1590-1595 (painted)
 Artist/Maker: Miskina (artist) Sarwan (artist)
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London
 (Source of this image and information is from the internet)

Picture 34 - Memorials of the ancestors of the Sansi community in village Bishala of Shiv Tehsil (above) and Gudamalani (below) in Barmer district partially inhabited by the same community. Many among them have migrated to Ahmedabad and settled in Chharanagar. There is a strong tradition among the Sansi (also Kanjar) to worship their ancestors regularly on festive and ceremonial occasions. Those who have migrated to cities, come back to these places to worship them particularly after marriage or after birth of a male child. Sometime the spirit of the deceased person also start troubling. In that case religious ceremony is organized, feast is given to the relatives and family members to settle the spirit at peace. Thus these memorials are always revered by the community.



Picture 35 - News featured in Rajasthan Patrika, Bhopal (Rajgarh-Biawara) edition newspaper on 8th July 2021 related to the dispute and firing by the policemen in village Kadiya Sansi of Bhopal district. The police has gone to the village to arrest two persons listed in a criminal case and investigate the container truck suspected for carrying country liquor. The villagers apposed the arrest which led to scuffle between them leading to firing from the police side. Both police and Sansi community members were hurt. Police arrested eight persons including a women of the Sansi community.

बोड़ा थाना क्षेत्र के कड़िया सासी में वारंटी को पकड़ने गई पुलिस और ग्रामीणों में मुठभेड़ पथराव के बचाव में पुलिस ने की फायरिंग पांच जवान और तीन ग्रामीण हुए घायल



पत्रिका न्यूज नेटवर्क
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बोड़ा. अवैध शराब का कंटेनर उतरने की सूचना और न्यायालय के दो स्थाई वारंटी को दबोचने के मकसद से पहुंची पुलिस और ग्रामीणों में पुछताछ के दौरान विवाद हो गया। पुलिस ने साफ किया कि हमें दो वारंटी पकड़ने हैं वे ला दो। इस दौरान पास ही खड़े कंटेनर की भी जानकारी लेना चाही। इसी बीच लट्ट लेकर आए ग्रामीणों ने उन पर हमला कर दिया। इसमें थाना प्रभारी अर्जुन सिंह मुजाल्दे को सिर में चोट आने से वे घायल हो गए। बचाव में पुलिस को फायरिंग करनी पड़ी, जिसमें वारंटी संजय उर्फ पंडा पिता रामबाबू सासी और जुगराज पिता रामबाबू घायल हो गए। इन दौरान उनकी मां भी घायल हुई हैं। घटना के बाद काफी देर तक घायल वहीं पड़े रहे। बाद में उन्हें उपचार के लिए अस्पताल भेजा गया। इसके अलावा पत्थर और लट्ट के हमले में बोड़ा थाने के एसआइ भंवरसिंह परमार, आरक्षक प्रवीण यादव, और बंटी बघेल व एक अन्य पुलिसकर्मी भी घायल हुए हैं, जिनका उपचार बोड़ा अस्पताल में ही चल रहा है।

पुलिस ने घटनास्थल की वीडियोग्राफी भी की, इसमें हमला करते दिख रहे लोगों को चिह्नित कर बोड़ा पुलिस ने धारा-307, शासकीय कार्य में बाधा सहित बलवा की विभिन्न धाराओं में केस दर्ज किया। साथ ही दोनों वारंटी दुर्गेश और संजय पिता रामबाबू सासी निवासी कड़िया हाट के पुराने अपराधिक रिकॉर्ड भी निकाले हैं। जिनमें अवैध शराब सहित हॉफ मर्डर के केस दर्ज हैं। अन्य आरोपियों को भी चिह्नित किया जा रहा है।



बोड़ा. ग्रामीणों ने पुलिस अमले पर छिपकर पत्थर फेंके, सामने से घेरकर टीआई सहित अन्य को पीटा।

कलेक्टर-एसपी सहित अमला पहुंचा, फ्लैगमार्च निकाला

घटना के बाद कलेक्टर नीरज कुमार सिंह और एसपी प्रदीप शर्मा पुलिस बल के साथ कड़िया सासी पहुंचे। उन्होंने घटनास्थल का जायजा लिया, वीडियोग्राफी के आधार पर लोगों को ढूँढा, लेकिन कोई नहीं मिला। हालांकि पुलिस को मौके से अवैध शराब से भरा कंटेनर मिला, जिसे जब्त कर लिया गया है। इस दौरान



पुलिस की टीम, विभिन्न थानों का बल, कलेक्टर-एसपी ने फ्लैगमार्च किया। बोड़ा थाने में धीरज सासी, संजय पंडा पिता रामबाबू सासी,

योगराज पिता रामबाबू सासी, अंगूरी पति कृष्णमोहन, शहजान पिता रामबाबू, विकास पिता रामबाबू, जंगवली पिता टीको, दुर्गेश पिता रामू, दीपक पिता उदयसिंह, दीपक पिता शंकर, रामबाबू पिता अमान सिंह, गोपाल मास्टर पिता बापूलाल सहित सात-आठ अन्य के खिलाफ केस दर्ज किया गया है।



बोड़ा. मुठभेड़ में घायल टीआई को अस्पताल में भर्ती कराया।



बोड़ा. मुठभेड़ में ग्रामीण को जांच में गोली लगी।

अचानक बिगड़ा माहौल

प्रत्यक्षदर्शियों के अनुसार गांव में पुलिस और ग्रामीणों के बीच बातचीत चल रही थी। इस बीच पुलिस ने कहा कि हमें किसी से कोई लेना-देना नहीं है, कोर्ट के आदेश पर हम गांव में सिर्फ दो वारंटियों को लेने आए हैं। इसी बात को लेकर ग्रामीण बहस करने लगे। बातों ही बातों में वे पथराव करने लगे। इस दौरान उन्होंने लट्ट से हमला कर दिया। इसके बाद पुलिस ने फायरिंग की। पथराव और लट्ट से बचाव करते हुए पुलिस निकल आई।

एसपी बोले: वारंटी के साथ अवैध शराब पकड़ने गए थे

पुलिस अधीक्षक प्रदीप शर्मा ने कहा कि दो आरोपियों का स्थायी वारंट था, साथ ही कंटेनर से अवैध शराब उतारने की सूचना मिली थी, कंटेनर वहीं खड़ा था, पुलिस तलाशी ले रही थी, इसी बीच ग्रामीणों ने पथराव कर दिया। एक महिला ने थाना प्रभारी के सिर पर हमला कर दिया,

अन्य पुलिसकर्मी भी घायल हुए हैं। डिफेंस में कमर से नीचे पुलिस ने फायर की, जिसमें दो ग्रामीण और एक महिला के घायल हुए हैं। सभी को अस्पताल भेजा गया है। वीडियोग्राफी के हिसाब से 12 से अधिक लोगों पर विभिन्न धाराओं में केस दर्ज किया है।

घेरकर पथराव किया

एसपी का पाइंट था, जिसे लेकर हम गांव में गए थे और एक आरोपी की तलाश कर रहे थे लेकिन ग्रामीणों ने हमें घेर लिया और पथराव करने लगे। जिससे हम गांव से बाहर की तरफ भागे। इस बीच उनसे बचाव के लिए फायरिंग भी करना पड़ी। हमारे अन्य साथी भी इस हमले में घायल हुए हैं।

-अर्जुन सिंह मुजाल्दे, थाना प्रभारी बोड़ा

न तो पुलिस के पास कोई वारंट था न हमारे पास कोई शराब थी, लेकिन हम बात ही कर रहे थे और पुलिस ने फायर कर दिया। एक नहीं छह से सात राउंड फायर किए हैं, उसके कारतूस भी वहीं डले हैं। हमने किसी पर हमला नहीं किया है, वे घायल कैसे हुए यह पुलिस ही बता पाएगी। -संजय सासी, घायल, कड़िया सासी

Picture 36 - Caste Panchayat called at village Samargram, district Neemach in Madhya Pradesh to resolve a marriage dispute. Such Panchayats are only attended by the male members of the community where woman has no right to speak.



Picture 37 - Banner of the local Bedia (Chhari) politician in Morena, Madhya Pradesh.



Picture 38 - Bachhada community village Sagargram of Neemach District in Madhya Pradesh where the survey has taken place.



Picture 39 - Roadside temporary tarpaulin tent of the Gadia Luhar family with their cart parked before the Panchayat Bhawan. Village Tikad of Tonk District, Rajasthan.



Picture 40 - Kanjar woman making country liquor in hideout of the forest near village Ramgar Dhani, Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan.



Picture 41 - Wondering Mogia (traditionally forest hunters like the Pardhi) man selling balloons and toys on the street of Kota with his child put in the cart.



Picture 42 - Kanjar women carrying water from the open well in village Ramnagar, District Bundi.



Picture 43 - Economically Weaker Section Housing Colony at Vatva in Ahmedabad where many of the DNT communities like Rajbhaoi, Dabgar, Vagri, etc. have been settled.



LIST OF WORKSHOPS, MEETINGS AND COMMUNITY LOCATION VISITED DURING THE PROJECT

Date	Place	Agenda	Participants
29/11/18	Bhasha Office, Vadodara	POCSO Act and its provisions	Nisha Grover, Sandhya Gajjar, Nishant Gokhale, Dakxin Bajrange, Madan Meena, Sonal Baxi, Atish & Jayendra
20/12/18	Bhasha Office, Vadodara	Discussion and Planning about the project	Madan Meena, Sandhya Gajjar, Daxin Bajarange, Sonal Bakshi, Atish Indrekar, Jayendra Rathod, coordinators of Muskan, Kota Heritage Society and Gramin Shiksha Kendra
01/04/19 & 02/04/19	Pachgaon, Bara and Sundar Colony, Dholpur	Film making and interview with the community members	Madan Meena, Atish Indrekar and Jayendra.
20/06/19	Bhasha Office, Vadodara	Presentations by project team on the field work done, discussion on data entry, audio visual, discussion with Gazala Paul on the project and planning	Madan Meena, Jayendra, Atish, Sonal Baxi, Gazal Paul
30/06/19	Sukhdham Kothi, Kota	Questionnaire training	By Madan Meena to Jayendra and Piyush
08/07/19	Muskan Office, Bhopal	Meeting and Survey form training at Muskan	With Muskan and Jan Sahas (Sangeeta ji) by Jayendra and Atish
31/07/19	Muskan Office, Bhopal	Forms discussion, training	With all the organizations surveyors by Madan Meena
11/11/19 & 12/11/19	Adivasi Academy, Tejgadh	Form discussion and checking problems	With all the organization surveyors
09/01/20 & 10/01/20	Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad	Discussions on project overview, orientation, discussion on problems, Film Screening	Madan Meena, Sandhya Gajjar, Daxin Bajarange, Sonal Bakshi, Atish Indrekar, Jayendra Rathod, Muskan Sanstha, Kota Heritage society and Gramin Shiksha Kendra, Mayank Sinha, Bharat Vitkar and Roxy Gagdekar
17/02/20	Navjeevan Press, Ahmedabad	Discussion with Smith Tanna (editor), Dakxin Bajrange for documentary film	Madan Meena, Daxin Bajarange, Smith Tanna, Atish, Jayendra
19/03/20	Google Meet	Data corrections	By Madan Meena with Jayendra & Atish

08/07/20 & 09/07/20	Google Meet	PHF accounts meeting	By Madan Meena with Prashant, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra
31/07/20	Google Meet	Data and Films	Madan Meena, Dakxin, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra, Smith
03/08/20	Google Meet	Bhasha PHF project meeting	By Madan Meena with Nisha Grover, Sandhya Gajjar. Sonal Baxi, Daxin Bajrange, Atish, Jayendra
04/09/20 & 05/09/20	Jaipur and Tonk	Visit to the Gadia Luhar community to meet their community leaders.	Madan Meena met Hiralal Luhar in Jaipur and Harderam Luhar at Tikad (Tonk).
06.09.20	Bundi	Visit to the Kalbelia community in village Dalelpura, Bundi	Madan Meena met the community surveyors and interviewed some of their leaders for the film.
13/09/20	Google Meet	Project discussion	Madan Meena, Dakxin, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra
19/10/20	Google Meet	Project discussion	Madan Meena, Dakxin, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra
03/12/20	Google Meet	PHF meeting about Data Analysis	Madan Meena, Dakxin, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra
07/12/20	Google Meet	PHF meeting about Documentary Status & Payment	Madan Meena, Dakxin, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra, Smith
03/12/20	Google Meet	Data Analysis queries	Madan Meena, Renu Chhari, Sangeeta, Pallav, Shubham, Sonal Baxi, Atish, Jayendra
27/01/21	Navjeevan Press, Ahmedabad	Data Analysis Meeting	Madan Meena, Gazal Paul, Sachin ji, Daxin ji, Aitsh , Jayendra
12/06/21	Google Meet	Review of Survey Report	With coordinators of the participant organizations to complete gaps in the report.
29/06/21	Zoom Meet	To invite suggestions for the next phase of the project where individual organizations have to choose the subject to work on it.	Sonal Baxi, Shivani, Pallav Thudgar, Sangeeta Kumbhkar, Shubham Garg, Sandhya Gajjar, Atish Indrekar, Jayendra Rathod, Dakxin Bajarange, Mayank Sinha, Radheyshyam Sain
15/07/21 & 16/07/21	Neemach & Udaipur	Visit to community locations	Visit of Madan Meena to meet members of Bachhada community in Neemach and Kalbelia in Udaipur
24/07/21 & 25/07/21	Dholpur (Rajasthan) & Morena (MP)	Visit to community locations	Visit of Madan Meena to meet members of Bedia community in villages of Morena and Dholpur.

27/07/21	Zoom Meeting	Bhasha and Grameen Shiksha Kendra for future proposal	Sonal Baxi, Madan Meena, Shubham Garg, Radheyshyam Saini and Javed.
02/08/21	Google Meet	Bhasha, Muskan and Jan Sahas meeting for future proposal	Sonal Baxi, Asif, Sangeeta, Madan Meena
10/08/21	Google Meet	PHF Budget meeting	Sandhya Gajjar, Sonal Baxi, Madan Meena, Dakxin Bajrange, Atish, Jayendra

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‘Voicing the Community’

A study on 'Denotified and Nomadic Tribes' of Rajasthan,
Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat

Sponsored by:

Paul Hamlyn Foundation

Conducted by:

Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

In collaboration with:

Gramin Shiksha Kendra-Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan

Muskaan-Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh

Kota Heritage Society-Kota, Rajasthan

Budhan Theatre-Ahmedabad, Gujarat and

Jan Sahas-Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh

Introduction

Bhasha Research and Publication Centre-Vadodara is carrying out a study on issues related to citizenship rights, education, health and atrocities faced by the De-notified and Nomadic Communities. For this purpose we are meeting members of DNT and NT communities in urban and rural areas to learn from them about these issues, their opinion and their plans for the future for themselves or for their children. All these studies are sponsored by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

We hope that you will kindly agree to cooperate in this study.

On our part, we assure you that the information given by you will be used only in this study and will be kept strictly confidential; *Your name will not be disclosed in any publication / report that is made public. All the ethical modalities will be maintained.*

We thank you for your time and patience.

For any issues kindly contact coordinator of the Study:

Dr. Madan Meena

Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Vadodara

Mob. +91-9414176631

Email: madan4meena@gmail.com

Household Number

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I. Identification

1. State: _____
राज्य
2. District: _____
जिला
3. Mandal/Block/Ward: _____
मंडल, ब्लॉक या वार्ड
4. Panchayat: _____
पंचायत
5. Village / Town / City: _____
गांव / शहर / नगर
6. Hamlet/Settlement/Habitation: _____
खेडा / बस्ती / निवास.स्थान
7. Rural / Urban: _____
ग्रामीण / शहरी
8. Name of the Respondent: _____
उत्तरदायी का नाम
9. Which DNT/NT community you belongs to: _____
क्या आप विमुक्त/खानाबदोष (घुमंतु) हैं?

9.1 What is your Social Category? 1. SC 2. ST 3. OBC 4. Most-Backward Classes (MBCs) 5. General 6. Special Backward Community (SBC) 9. Do not know 0. Not Applicable (write number only)

☐

आप का सामाजिक वर्ग क्या है? 1. अनुसूचित जाति 2. अनुसूचित जनजाति 3. अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग 4. अत्यधिक पिछड़ा वर्ग 5. सामान्य 6. एस. बी. सी. 9. पता नहीं 0. लागू नहीं।

Sub Tribe / Sub Group: _____
उप जाति / उप समूह/ गोत्र

10. For how long have you been staying at present place (continuous residence)
आप इस निवास स्थान पर कब से रह रहे हैं ? (निरंतर आवास)

11. Household details

परिवारिक विवरण

Sl. No. क्र.सं.	Name (begin with the head of Household) *	Sex [M/F] M 1 F 2 लिंग पुरुष-1 महिला-2	Age in years आयु वर्षों में	Marital Status ** वैवाहिक स्थिति **	Relation ship with Head घर के प्रमुख के साथ संबंध	Education Status शिक्षा का स्तर					Occupation व्यवसाय		Income per annum वार्षिक आमदनी	
						1) Never enrolled 2) Dropped out 3) Corrently Enrolled 4) Completed education	If enrolled then Currently studying Class or passed class यदी नांमाकित नहीं हैं तो वर्तमान में कौन सी कक्षा में पढ़ रहे हैं या पढ़ चुके हैं	Dropped out in which class/ course-I किस कक्षा में पढ़ाई छोड़ दी-I	Govt. / Private? Govt 1 Private2 सरकारी / गैर सरकारी? सरकारी-1 गैर सरकारी-2	Distance of school from residence (in KMs) *** घर से स्कूल (पाठशाला की दूरी (कि.मी.) ***	Main प्रमुख व्यवसाय	Secondary द्वितीय व्यवसाय	Main प्रमुख व्यवसाय	Secondary द्वितीय व्यवसाय
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14	15
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														

13													
14													
15													
Non-Residential Members: 1. Married 2. Migration 3. Hostellers अनिवासी सदस्य: 1. विवाहित 2. प्रव्रजन/देशान्तर 3. छात्रावासी													
16													
17													
18													
19													

* Head of Household may be either man or woman. Where head is not available, any adult member may be key informant.

घर के प्रमुख स्त्री हो या पुरुष, यदि प्रमुख अनुपस्थित हो तो घर के किसी भी वयस्क से सूचना प्राप्त करें

** Marital Status: 1. Married 2. Never Married 3. Divorced 4. Separated /deserted 5. Widowed

वैवाहिक स्थिति : विवाहित अविवाहित तलाकशुदा विलग/वियुक्त (अलग हुआ) विधवा

*** Of currently studying children

वर्तमान में पढ़ रहे बच्चे की

I. Reasons for dropped out : (take the serial no of dropout child) (refer column 8)_____

पढ़ाई छोड़ने के कारण (पढ़ाई छोड़े हुए (खारिज) बच्चे का क्र. सं. 12 से लीजिए)

II. Reasons for Non enrollment : (take the serial no of never enrolled child) (Refer Column 6)_____

अनामांकन के कारण (अनामांकित बच्चे का क्र. सं. लीजिए)

12. Is there any other member besides the above mentioned, who is not residing with you now? _____

ऊपर बताये गये सदस्यों के अलावा और कोई सदस्य है जो फिलहाल आप के परिवार के साथ नहीं रहता हो।

13. 1. Do you own agricultural land? 1. Yes 2. No
क्या आप के पास खेती है? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

13. 2. If yes, how much land you possess? (in bigha) _____
यदि हाँ तो, आपके पास कितनी जमीन है? (बीघा)

14. How do you use the land (agriculture, residence or any other)? _____
आप अपनी जमीन को किस काम में लेते हैं (खेती, निवास, या अन्य किसी काम के लिए)?

15. What is your traditional/ tribe-based occupation? _____
आपका आदिवासी/पारंपरिक व्यवसाय क्या है?

16. Is the traditional / tribe based occupation still practised in your family?
क्या पारंपरिक/जनजाति आधारित व्यवसाय अब भी आपके परिवार में प्रचलित है?
1. Yes 2. No 9. DK 0. NA
हाँ नहीं पता नहीं लागू नहीं

☐

17. If no, who gave up first and why?
यदि नहीं तो पहले किसने कितना पाढ़ी पहले छोड़ा और क्यों छोड़ा?

III. Housing, household assets & ownership (आवास, घरेलू संपत्ति और स्वामित्व)

18. The present house in which you live is
फिलहाल आप जिस घर में रह रहे हैं यह किराए का है या खुद का?

☐

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Own
खुद का | 2. On rent
किराए | 3. Relatives/neighbours house without rent
रिश्तेदारों/पड़ोसियों के घर बिना किराये का |
| 4. No house or residing
कोई घर नहीं | 5. Temporarily in others house
अस्थायी रूप से दूसरे के घर में | |
| 6. Anything other (Specify) _____
अन्य (निर्दिष्ट करें) | | |

19. Type of House (By observation): _____
किस प्रकार का घर है? (अवलोकन द्वारा)

20. Total number of rooms in the house: _____
घर में कमरों की कुल संख्या (अवलोकन द्वारा)

21. Size of the house
घर कितना बड़ा है? (अवलोकन द्वारा)

22. From where do you get water for drinking and household use?

आप पीने और घर में काम लेने का पानी कहाँ से लाते हैं?

1. Tube/borewell

ट्यूब/बोरवेल

2. Open well

आम कुआँ या बावड़ी

3. Spring/stream

झरना/धारा

4. Piped water

नल का पानी

5. Pond

पोखर/तालाब

6. Tanker

टैंकर

7. Other source (specify) _____

अन्य स्रोत (निर्दिष्ट करें)

22.1 How far it is from the residence? _____

घर से कितनी दूरी पर है?

23. Where do you go for toilet?

आप शौच के लिए कहाँ जाते हैं?

1. In the open

खुले में

2. Constructed toilet

पक्के शौचालय में

24. Do you have electricity in your village?

क्या आप के गाँव में बिजली है?

1. Yes

2. No

हाँ

नहीं

25. Do you have electricity in your house?

क्या आप के घर में बिजली है?

1. Yes

2. No

हाँ

नहीं

26. Do you or your family possess the following official documents?

क्या आप के घर में निम्नलिखित दस्तावेज हैं?

Type of documents दस्तावेज/प्रमाण पत्रों के प्रकार		1. Yes for all members सभी सदस्यों के लिए हाँ 2. Yes for some members कुछ सदस्यों के लिए हाँ 3. None - कुछ नहीं
1	Ration Card राशन कार्ड (निर्दिष्ट करें)	
2	Colour of Ration Card राशन कार्ड का रंग	
3	Job Card (NREGA) जॉब कार्ड (नरेगा)	
4	BPL card बीपीएल कार्ड	
5	Health Insurance स्वास्थ्य बीमा कार्ड	
6	Voter ID मतदान/वोटर आईडी कार्ड	
7	Caste certificate जाति प्रमाण पत्र	
8	Adhar Card आधार कार्ड	
9	Bonafide Certificate मूल निवासी कार्ड	
10	Birth certificate जन्म प्रमाण पत्र	
11	Death Certificate मृत्यु प्रमाण पत्र	
12	Nomad card घुमंतु कार्ड	
13	Old age pension papers वृद्धा अवस्था पेंशन दस्तावेज	
14	Any other (specify) अन्य (निर्दिष्ट करें)	

27. Do they have the services of the Anganwadi? 1. Yes 2.No 3.D.K. ☐
 क्या आंगनवाड़ी की सेवाएँ उपलब्ध हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं 3. पता नहीं
28. If not, then why?
 अगर नहीं है तो उसका कारण ? _____
29. Access to PHC/CHC? 1. Yes 2.No ☐
 प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र की सेवा उपलब्ध हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं
30. If not, then why?
 अगर नहीं है तो उसका कारण ? _____
31. Do you have the following in your Household? 1. Yes 2. No ☐
 क्या आप के घर में निम्नलिखित चीजें हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

Sl. No. क्र.सं.	Assets संपत्ति	1. Yes 2. No 1. हाँ 2. नहीं
1.	Table/Chair टेबल/कुर्सी	
2.	Electric fan / Cooler पंखा/कूलर	
3.	Kitchen appliances like Cooker बुकर जैसे रसोई उपकरण	
4.	Refrigerator / Cooler फ्रिज/कूलर	
5.	Television टेलीफोन	
6.	Computer / Laptop कंप्यूटर/लैपटॉप	
7.	Telephone / Mobile phone टेलीफोन/मोबाईल फोन	
8.	Cycle/Cycle Rickshaw साइकिल/साइकिल रिक्शा	
9.	Auto Rickshaw ऑटो रिक्शा	
10.	Scooter / Motorbike स्कूटर/मोटरबाईक	
11.	Gas Connection गैस कनेक्शन	
12.	Tempo / Lorry / Car टेम्पो/लॉरी/कार	
13.	Livestock पशुधन	
14.	Power tiller ट्रेक्टर	
15.	General Agricultural implements आम कृषि औजार	
16.	Any other item (specify) अन्य कोई वस्तु (निर्दिष्ट करें)	

32.1. Total family expenditure (per month)

कुल मासिक खपत/व्यय/खर्च

Sl. No. क्र. सं.	Expenditure items चीजों पर खर्च	Amount (Rs.) राशि. रु.
1	Food expenditure (includes all food items) भोजन खर्च (सभी खाद्य पदार्थों पर खर्चा)	
2	Expenditure on education of Boys & Girls लड़कों की पढ़ाई पर खर्च	
	Expenditure on education – Girls लड़कियों की पढ़ाई पर खर्च	
3	Expenditure on Electricity बिजली खर्च	
4	Expenditure on Water पानी पर खर्च	
5	Other expenditure अन्य व्यय	
	Total कुल व्यय	

Food items : Cereals, Gram, Cereal substitutes, Pulses & Pulses Products, Milk & Milk Products, Edible Oil, Eggs, Fish and Meat, Vegetables, Fruits and Nuts, Sugar, Salt and Spices, Beverages, etc.

खाद्य पदार्थ: अनाज, दलहन, एवज अनाज, दलहन और दलहन उत्पाद, दूध और दूध उत्पाद, खाद्य तेल, अंडे, मछली और मांस, सब्जी तरकारी, फल और बादाम आदि, चीनी, नमक और मसाले, पेय, आदी

32.2 Total family expenditure (per year)

कुल मासिक खपत/व्यय/खर्च

Sl. No. क्र. सं.	Expenditure items चीजों पर खर्च	Amount (Rs.) राशि. रु.
1	Expenditure on wedding, death, birth or any ritual विवाह, मृत्यु, जन्म या अन्य अवसर पर खर्च	
2	Any Emergency expenditure (kindly mention) किसी आपातकालीन स्थिति में हुआ खर्च (निर्दिष्ट करें)	
	Total	

33.1. Food expenses taken care from wages in kind where ever applicable (Specify)

आपको कभी मजदूरी के एवज में भोजन का भुगतान कर दिया गया है? (विवरण दे)

33.2 Please mention the subsidized grains available to your family per month at what price & quantity?

आपके परिवार को हर महीना जो रियायती/मुफ्त अनाज मिलता है उसकी दर व माप का उल्लेख करें।

IV. Neighbourhood (पड़ोस)

34. Who are your neighbours? (✓ the appropriate option given below)

आप के पड़ोसी कौन है (नीचे दिये गये उपयुक्त विकल्पों पर चिन्ह लगाएँ)

- a. Own caste/tribe people = खुद की जाति/जनजाति के लोग
- b. Other caste/tribe people = अन्य जाति/जनजाति के लोग
- c. Segregated house = अलग घर (पृथक परिवार)
- d. DNT Settlement = विमुक्त जनजातियाँ का औपनिवेशिक बस्ती
- e. DK = पता नहीं

V. Schooling of Child (बच्चे के स्कूल संबंधि प्रश्न)

35. Who helps the child to study at home? _____
घर पर बच्चों को पढ़ाने में कौन मदद करता है?

36. If private tutor, how much fee paid per month? _____
यदि निजी शिक्षक (प्राइवेट ट्यूटर) पढ़ाते हैं, तो, महीने के कितने पैसे देते हैं?

37. Does your child like to go to school? 1. Yes 2. No 0. DK
क्या आप का बच्चा स्कूल जाना पसन्द करता है? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं 0. पता नहीं

☐

38. Does your child experience any of the following at school?:
क्या आपके बच्चे को स्कूल में निम्न में से कोई भी अनुभव है?

Sl. No. क्र.सं.	At school स्कूल में	1. Yes 2. No 1. हाँ 2. नहीं
1	Being called by the name of the community क्या जाती या समुदाय के नाम से बुलाया जा रहा है?	
2	Made to sit in the back bench कक्षा में पीछे के बेंच में बैठने के लिए कहा जाता है।	
3	Not paid any attention by the teacher शिक्षक के द्वारा कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता।	
4	Addressed as not having any intelligence but coming for scholarship 'बुद्धिहीन है लेकिन छात्रवृत्ति के लिए आ रहा है,' ऐसा कहना	
5	Addressed as Adivasi alluding to being uncultured आदिवासी असभ्य होते हैं ऐसा कहना	
6	Sitting arrangements in classrooms are humiliating कक्षा में अपमानजनक बैठने की व्यवस्था	
7	Mid-day-meal discrimination मध्याह्न भोजन में भेदभाव	
8	Teachers' attitude is offensive / insulting शिक्षक का आक्रामक/अपमानजनक रवैया	
9	Fellow students' attitude is offensive / hurtful साथी छात्रों के आक्रामक/हानिकारक रवैया	
10	Playground & cultural activities discriminated खेल और सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों में अपमानजनक रवैया	
11	Drinking water from the same pot & glass is restricted एक ही घड़ा और लोटे से पानी पीने पर रोक	
12	Taking Tea or Water to the teacher is prevented शिक्षक के लिए चाय या पानी लाने पर रोक	
13	Child asked for manual jobs which other caste children are not asked to do कक्षा या स्कूल की साफ-सफाई का काम, जिसके लिए अन्य जाति के बच्चों को करने के लिए नहीं कहा जाता है।	
14	Any other (specify) अन्य (निर्दिष्ट करिए)	

VI. Medical issues and Expenditure

स्वास्थ्य संबंधी जानकारी

39. Has anyone in the family suffered from any illness in last 6 months? 1. Yes 2. No
क्या परिवार में कोई भी व्यक्ति पिछले छः महिनों में किसी भी रोग से पीड़ित रहा? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

39.1 If yes, please ask the following question for all the illness in the family (for last 6 months)

यदि हाँ तो, परिवार में सभी रोगों की जानकारी के लिए निम्नलिखित प्रश्न पूछिये

Relation with respondent उत्तरदायी के साथ संबंध	Illness (please note down the illness verbatim) रोग (कृपया बीमारी का नाम लिखें)	Access health facility Yes-1 No-2 सवस्थ सुविधा की पहुँच हा-1 नहीं-2	Type of facility * सुविधा के प्रकार *	Need to stay at the facility Yes-1 No-2 सुविधा प्राप्ति के लिए वहीं रहने की आवश्यकता है? हा-1 नहीं-2	Whether treated differently from other caste patients** Yes-1 No-2 कोई जातिगत भेदभाव हा-1 नहीं-2	Need to pay for the treatment Yes-1 No-2 Partly -3 उपचार के लिए पैसा देना पड़ा? हाँ-1 नहीं-2 आंशिक खर्च-3	Total expenditure (Rs.) कुल व्यय (रु.)

- * 1. Community Health Centre 2. Government hospital 3. Rural Medical Practitioner (RMP)
समुदायिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र सरकारी अस्पताल ग्रामीण चिकित्सक (आरएमपी)
4. Traditional healer 5. Private nursing home 6. ANM
पारम्परिक चिकित्सक निजी अस्पताल सहायक परिचर्या दाई
7. Ayurvedic Practitioner 8. Any other(specify) _____
आयुर्वेदिक वैद्य अन्य (निर्दिष्ट करें)

**If they are treated differently at the facility, please note down in details about the discrimination.

यदि सुविधा प्रदान करने में भेदभाव पाते हैं तो, कृपया उस भेदभाव का विवरण नीचे लिखिये।

VII. Parental involvement & perception towards child education

बच्चे की शिक्षा के प्रति माता पिता की भागीदारी और धारणा

40. Did you find any problem in getting your children admitted into school/college? ☐

1. Yes 2. No

क्या आप अपने बच्चों को स्कूल/कॉलेज में भर्ती कराते समय किसी भी तरह की समस्या का सामना करना पड़ा है?

1. हाँ 2. नहीं

If yes, what sort of problem? _____

यदि हाँ तो किस तरह की समस्याएँ?

41. Do you consult anyone for the following purposes?

क्या आप निम्नलिखित उद्देश्यों के लिए किसी की राय लेते हैं?

Sl. No क्र.सं.	Reasons कारण	1. Yes, 2. No 1. हाँ 2. नहीं	Consult with whom* किस से सलाह करते हैं?
1	Admitting your child स्कूल में बच्चे को भर्ती कराने के संदर्भ में		
2	Deciding Subject विषय चुनने के संदर्भ में		
3	Choosing School/College स्कूल/कॉलेज का चयन के संदर्भ में		
4	Financial support आर्थिक सहायता के लिए		
5	Guidance मार्गदर्शन के लिए		

* 1. Own Family Member

अपने ही परिवार के सदस्य

2. Community Leader

बिरादरी का नेता

3. Teacher

शिक्षक

4. Health officials

स्वास्थ्य अधिकारी

5. Local political leaders

स्थानीय (राजनैतिक) नेता

6. Neighbours

पड़ोसी

7. Educated members in the community

अपने बिरादरी के शिक्षित व्यक्ति

8. NGO

गैर सरकारी संगठन

9. Others

अन्य

42. In past one year how many times have you gone to your children's school? _____

पिछले एक साल में आप कितनी बार अपने बच्चों के स्कूल में गये हैं ?

43. Are you happy with your children schooling? ☐

क्या आप बच्चों की शिक्षा से संतुष्ट हैं?

1. Satisfactory

संतोष जनक

2. Not Satisfactory

संतोषजनक नहीं

3. Ok with it

ठीक हैं

44. If not satisfied then why?

अगर संतुष्ट नहीं हैं तो कारण स्पष्ट करें ?

45. Parents perception on the following
निम्नलिखित विषयों पर माता-पिता की धारणा
- | | |
|--------|---------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
| 1. हाँ | 2. नहीं |

Can your children write?
क्या आप के बच्चे लिख सकते हैं?

☐

Can your children read?
क्या आप के बच्चे पढ़ सकते हैं?

☐

Can your children speak?
क्या आप के बच्चे बात कर सकते हैं?

☐

46. Do your children participate in school/college in
क्या आप के बच्चे स्कूल/कॉलेज में भाग लेते हैं?
- | | |
|--------|---------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No |
| 1. हाँ | 2. नहीं |

a. Cultural programmes

सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमों में

☐

b. Sport activities

खेल गतिविधियों में

☐

c. Co-curricular activities

सह पाठ्यक्रम गतिविधियों में

☐

d. Don't know

पता नहीं

☐

- 46.1 If your Child did not participate in any extracurricular activities in school/college, what are the reasons?

यदि आपके बच्चे स्कूल/कॉलेज के किसी भी गतिविधियों में भाग नहीं लेते हैं, तो उसके कारण क्या हैं?

47. Up to what level do you wish to provide education to your son?

आप अपने बेटे को किस स्तर तक शिक्षा प्रदान करना चाहते हैं?

☐

1. Primary

प्राथमिक

2. Middle

माध्यमिक

3. SSC (10th)

एसएससी (10वीं)

4. Hr. Sec. (12th)

उच्च माध्यमिक (12वीं)

5. Higher degree

उच्च डिग्री (स्नातक)

6. High-professional degree

उच्च पेशेवर (प्रोफेशनल) डिग्री

9. Do not want to educate

पढ़ाना नहीं चाहते

0. NA

लागू नहीं

- 47.1 If do not want to educate then why?

अगर नहीं पढ़ाना चाहते तो क्यों?

48. Up to what level do you wish to provide education to your daughter?

आप अपनी बेटी को किस स्तर तक शिक्षा प्रदान करना चाहते हैं?

1. Primary

प्राथमिक

2. Middle

माध्यमिक

3. SSC

एसएससी

4. Hr. Secondary

उच्च माध्यमिक

☐

5. Higher degree

उच्च डिग्री (स्नातक)

6. High-professional degree

उच्च पेशेवर (प्रोफेशनल) डिग्री

9. Do not want to educate

पढ़ाना नहीं चाहते

0. NA

लागू नहीं

- 48.1 If do not want to educate then why?

अगर नहीं पढ़ाना चाहते तो क्यों?

49. What do you want your son to become? _____
आपका बेटा क्या बनें, आप क्या चाहते हैं?

50. What do you want your daughter to become? _____
आपकी बेटी क्या बनें, आप क्या चाहते हैं?

51. Any of your children studying outside your village/town/city (residential school /hostel)?
आप के बच्चों में से कोई भी अपने गांव से बाहर शहर/नगर में (आवासीय स्कूल/छात्रावास) पढ़ रहे हैं?

1. Yes 2. No

1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

If yes, give reasons (Please tick all the applicable)

यदि हाँ तो कारण बतायें (कृपया कारणों को चिह्नित कीजिए)

51.a For Higher education

उच्च शिक्षा के लिए

☐

51.b Inadequate facilities/not regular/ in the village/town school

गाँव और शहर के स्कूलों में सुविधाएँ पर्याप्त और नियमित रूप से न होने के कारण

☐

51.c Caste discrimination in the localschool

स्थानीय स्कूल में जाति भेदभाव

☐

51.d Poor teaching in local school/college

स्थानीय विद्यालय/महाविद्यालय में अच्छी शिक्षा न होने के कारण

☐

51.e Availability of multi-grade school

शहर और नगरों में बहु-ग्रेड स्कूल की उपलब्धता के कारण

☐

51.f Hostel/Residential/Ashram Schools

छात्रावास/आवासीय आश्रम स्कूलों की उपलब्धता के कारण

☐

51.g Others (अन्य) _____

52. Does your child assist you in your work at home (below 18 years)? 1.Yes 2. No
क्या बच्चे घर पर आप के काम में सहायता करते हैं (18 वर्ष से कम)? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

52.1. If yes, what work and how much time the child spends for doing it?

यदि हाँ, तो क्या काम और कितना समय करते हैं?

Sl. No. क्र.सं.	Name of the Child बच्चे का नाम	Nature of work कार्य की प्रकृति	Hours of work daily रोजाना कितने घंटे	Income if any आमदनी अगर हो तो
1				
2				
3				
4				

53. Does your child study at home regularly? 1. Yes 2. No
 क्या आप का बच्चा घर पर नियमित रूप से पढ़ाई करता है? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

54. If not then why?

अगर नहीं पड़ता तो उसका कारण क्या है?

55. Information on school related committees

स्कूल से संबंधित समितियाँ की सूचना

Committee समिति	Are you aware of it 1. Yes, 2. No क्या आप को इसके बारे में पता है? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं	Are you member of it 1. Yes, 2. No क्या आप इसके सदस्य हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं	Did you attend any meetings 1. Yes, 2. No क्या आप कभी इस मिटिंग में भाग लिये? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं
PTA पीटीए			
VEC ग्राम शिक्षा समिति			
SMC एसएमसी			
Others अन्य			

VIII. Affirmative Action in Education / शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सकारात्मक कार्यवाई

56. Are you aware that there are welfare/affirmative action schemes for your children in education?

क्या आप जानते हैं कि आप के बच्चों के शिक्षा के लिए कल्याणकारी सहायता/सकारात्मक योजनाएं हैं?

1. Yes 2. No

1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

56.1. If yes, what are the schemes/facilities that your children are currently getting? Tick from the list given in the table;

यदि हाँ तो आप के बच्चों को अभी कौन सी योजना/सुविधाएं प्राप्त हो रही हैं? तालिका में दी गई योजनाओं को चिह्नित करें।

Name of the scheme योजना का नाम	1.Govt. सरकारी 2.NGO एनजीओ 3. Others अन्य	Received for which level of education किस स्तर की शिक्षा के लिए प्राप्त हैं?	Received by [Son or daughter] किस के द्वारा प्राप्त होती हैं? पुत्र या पुत्री	Do you feel that the amount/ provision is adequate? Yes -1 No- 2 क्या आप को लगता है, कि यह राशि पर्याप्त है? हाँ-1 नहीं-2	If not received, then why? यदि प्राप्त नहीं है तो उसके कारण क्या हैं?	Difficulties in getting प्राप्त करने में कैसी कठिनाइयाँ हैं?	Whether Useful, Yes -1 No- 2 क्या यह उपयोगी है? हाँ-1 नहीं-2
Reservation Benefit आरक्षण की सुविधा							
Scholarships छात्रवृत्ति							
Remedial/other coaching सुधारात्मक/अन्य कोचिंग							
Pre-admission coaching धाखिलापूर्व कोचिंग							
Hostel Facilities छात्रावास की सुविधाएँ							
Tuition fee waiver शिक्षण शुल्क छुट							
Vocational training/capacity building व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण							
Free textbook /Stationary/ Notebooks/ Uniform निःशुल्क पाठ्यपुस्तक, कापी, किताब, वर्दी							
Free food/MDM & Accommodation निःशुल्क भोजन/एमडीएम/आवास							
Cycle साइकिल							
Laptop लैपटॉप							

Transportation परिवाहन							
Any other (Specify) अन्य (बताएँ)							

Note : Every State to provide state specific list. (प्रत्येक राज्य अपनी-अपनी निश्चित सूची प्रदान करें)

56.2. Is there any difficulty in availing these schemes or competition with other communities? Kindly explain

क्या इन योजनाओं/सुविधाओं को प्राप्त करने में कोई समस्या होती है या दूसरे समुदाय की वजह से मिल नहीं पाती? स्पष्ट करें

IX. Migration (Migrant Family Only)

देशान्तर (केवल देशान्तरित परिवारों के लिए)

57. Is this your native place? 1 Yes 2 No
यह आप की मूल स्थान है? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

58. Have you migrated here? 1. Yes 2.No
आप देशान्तरण किये हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

58.1 If migrant, reasons for migration?

यदि देशान्तरण किये हैं तो देशान्तरण के कारण क्या हैं?

58.2 Please tell about your traditional nomadic routes:

कृपा अपने पारंपरिक खानाबदोश मार्गों के बारे में बताएं:

59. If forced migration, please select the reasons from below:

यदि बलपूर्वक देशान्तरण है तो उसके कारण क्या हैं?

1. Displacement 2. Denial of access to forest resources

विस्थापन वन संसाधनों के उपयोग पर प्रतिबंध

3. Denial of opportunity to pursue traditional occupation

पारम्परिक व्यवसाय को आगे बढ़ाने के अवसर से वंचित

4. Criminal cases/intimidation by law enforcement agencies

कानून परवर्तन एजेंसियों द्वारा अपराधिक मामलों व धमकी

☐

60. When you migrate, what happens to your children's schooling?

जब आप देशान्तरण करते हैं तब आप के बच्चों की शिक्षा का क्या होता है?

61. How many times a year does you migrate and why? [State number of times]

साल में आप कितनी बार देशान्तरण करते हैं और क्यों करते हैं? (किन किन राज्यों में और कितनी बार)

62. Do you have to take permission of Police to travel outside of your village/town?

अपने गांव या शहर से बाहर जाने के लिए क्या आपको पुलिस की इजाजत लेनी पड़ती है क्या?

63. How long do you stay in each place? [Duration of tenure in each place]

एक स्थान में कितने समय तक रुकते हैं? (किन किन राज्यों में और कितने समय तक)

X. Isolation, socio-economic-cultural marginalization & discrimination

अलगाव, पाश्चीकरण, सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक एवं आर्थिक भेदभाव

64. Does the Police visit your locality? How often and why? When was the last time?

क्या पुलिस आपकी बस्ति में आती है क्या? अगर हां तो कितनी बार? आखरी बार कब आई थी?

65. Have you ever approached police for help? _____

क्या आप ने कभी पुलिस से मदद मांगी ?

65.1. If yes, why? _____

यदि हाँ, तो क्यों?

66. Did you receive help from the police? _____

क्या आप को पुलिस से मदद मिली?

67. Did you or any of your family members ever asked to pay bribe to the police/officials?

क्या कभी भी आप या आपके परिवार के सदस्यों से पुलिस अधिकारियों को रिश्वत देने के लिए कहा गया?

67.1 If yes, then how much bribe you paid? _____

अगर हां तो रिश्वत के कितने रुपये लिये?

68. Have you ever met a lawyer? _____

क्या आप कभी किसी वकील से मिले?

69. Have you ever gone to court in connection with a family case? _____

क्या आप कभी परिवार के मामलों को लेकर अदालत गये?

70. Is there any criminal case registered against you or your family members? _____

क्या आप के परिवार के सदस्यों में से किसी पर भी आपराधिक मामले दर्ज हैं?

70.1 If yes, on whom? _____

यदि हाँ, तो किस पर?

70.2 Why? [Specify reason] _____

यदि हाँ, तो क्यों? (कारण निर्दिष्ट करें)

71 Were you or any family member ever arrested or detained? _____

क्या आपको या आपके परिवार के किसी सदस्य को गिरफ्तार या हिरासत में लिया गया है?

71.1 If arrested, why? [Specify reason] _____

यदि गिरफ्तार किये गये तो क्यों? (कारण निर्दिष्ट करें)

71.2 For how long? _____ Days _____ Months _____ Years _____

कब तक?

दिनों

महिनों

वर्षों

72. Under which section arrested or detained? _____

किस धारा के अंतर्गत गिरफ्तार किया गया?

73. Do you or your family members get harassed by police? _____

क्या आप या आपके परिवार के सदस्य पुलिस द्वारा परेशान किये जाते हैं?

73.1. If yes, why? [Specify] _____

यदि हाँ, तो क्यों? (निर्दिष्ट करें।)

74. Does any of your school/college going child face theft/criminal charges? _____
क्या आप के स्कूल/कॉलेज जा रहे बच्चों कभी चोरी जैसे आरोपों का सामना किया है?

74.1. If yes, why? [Specify reason] _____
यदि हाँ तो (निर्दिष्ट करें)

74.2 What was his/her age? _____
उस समय उसकी उम्र क्या थी?

75. Were you or your family members ever discriminated due to criminal/theft charge by others?
क्या आप या आपके परिवार के सदस्य कभी चोरी या अन्य आपराधिक आरोपों के कारण भेदभाव के शिकार हुये?

76. What is Media's perception about your community? (Please collect copies of media reports is any)
अखबार और मिडिया का आपके समाज के प्रति कैसा व्यवहार है? (कृपया इस संबंधि खबर की कटिंग्स इक्टडा करें)

77. Behaviour of other communities?
अन्य समाजों का आपके समाज के प्रति कैसा व्यवहार है?

78. In your opinion, what is the way out from discrimination?
आपकी राय में, इस भेदभाव से बाहर निकलने का रास्ता क्या है? (निर्दिष्ट करें)

79. If there are cases of suicide in the family due to social, political, financial issues or police atrocities then kindly write about them.
अगर सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, वित्तीय मुद्दों या पुलिस अत्याचार के कारण परिवार में आत्महत्या के मामले हैं तो कृपया उनके बारे में लिखें।

80. Provide information about internal conflict within the community?
आपके समाज के अन्दरूनी मतभेदों के बारे में जानकारी दें?

80.1 If yes, how did it impact you or your family members?
यदि हाँ तो यह आप या आपके परिवार के सदस्यों को कैसा प्रभावित किया? (निर्दिष्ट करें)

81. If there is any socio-political movement going on in your community then kindly write about it.
यदि आपके समुदाय में कोई सामाजिक-राजनीतिक आंदोलन चल रहा है, तो कृपया इसके बारे में लिखें।

82. If there are job cards in the family, then how many days work is allotted?
अगर आपके परिवार में जॉब कार्ड हैं, तो कितने दिनों के लिए काम आवंटित किया जाता है।

82.1 If not then why?
अगर नहीं तो क्यों?

83. If you have voter ID Cards then do you get to vote? 1. Yes 2. No.
अगर आपके परिवार के पास वोटर कार्ड है तो क्या आप मताधिकार का प्रयोग करते हैं? 1. हाँ 2. नहीं

☐

83.1 For which elections?
किन चुनावों के लिए ?

83.2 Do you decide upon the party/candidate to vote individually or community-wise?
क्या आप अपने आप से किसे वोट डालना है निश्चित करते हैं या समाज के कहे अनुसार डालते हैं?

83.3 When was the last time you voted?
आखरी बार कब वोट डाला?

84. Have you ever applied for loan in the bank and did you get it?
क्या आपने कभी बैंक में ऋण के लिए आवेदन किया है और क्या आपने इसे प्राप्त किया है?

85. If not, then state the reason.
यदि नहीं, तो कारण बताएं।

86. Do you have death certificate of the deceased persons in your family? If you find problem in getting it then kindly state:
क्या आपके परिवार में मृत व्यक्तियों का मृत्यु प्रमाण पत्र है? अगर नहीं तो उसे प्राप्त करने के लिए आई समस्याएं बताएं।

87. Any other issue the community wants to express:
कोई अन्य मुद्दा जिसे समुदाय व्यक्त करना चाहता हो।

88. Any debts on the family? How much and from whom?:
कोई कर्ज है क्या कितना? और किस से लिया हुआ है?

Personal Observations (by Investigators):

व्यक्तिगत टिप्पणियाँ (जांचकर्ता द्वारा)

Date of interview: _____
साक्षात्कार की तिथि

Place of interview: _____ (tick whether school/residence/other place)
साक्षात्कार की जगह स्कूल/निवास/अन्य जगह (चिन्हित कीजिए)

Name of the investigator: _____ Signature of investigator: _____
साक्षात्कार लेने वाले का नाम हस्ताक्षर

Checked or verified by (Co-ordinator), Date: _____ Signature: _____
जांचकरता, तिथि हस्ताक्षर

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